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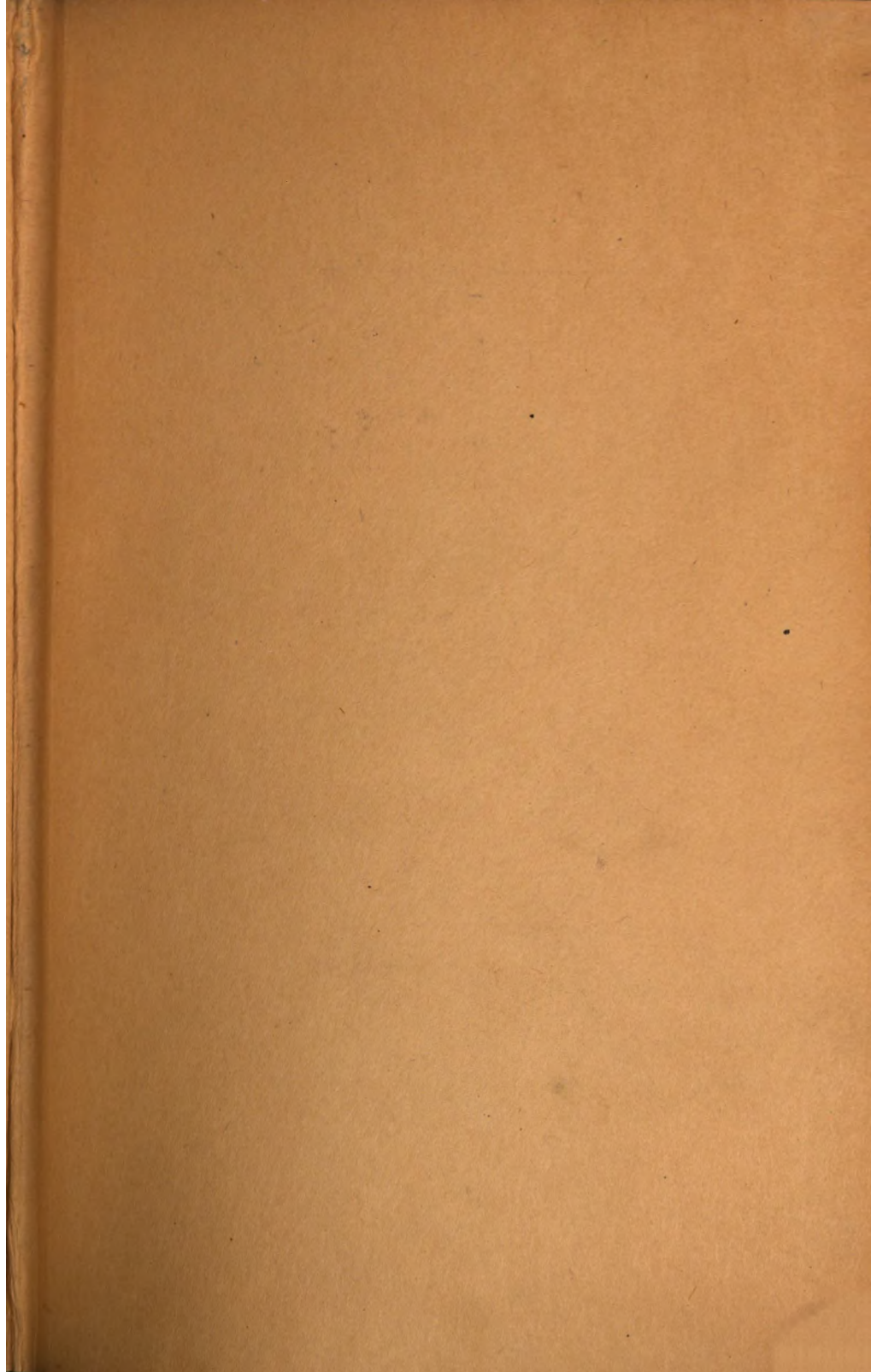
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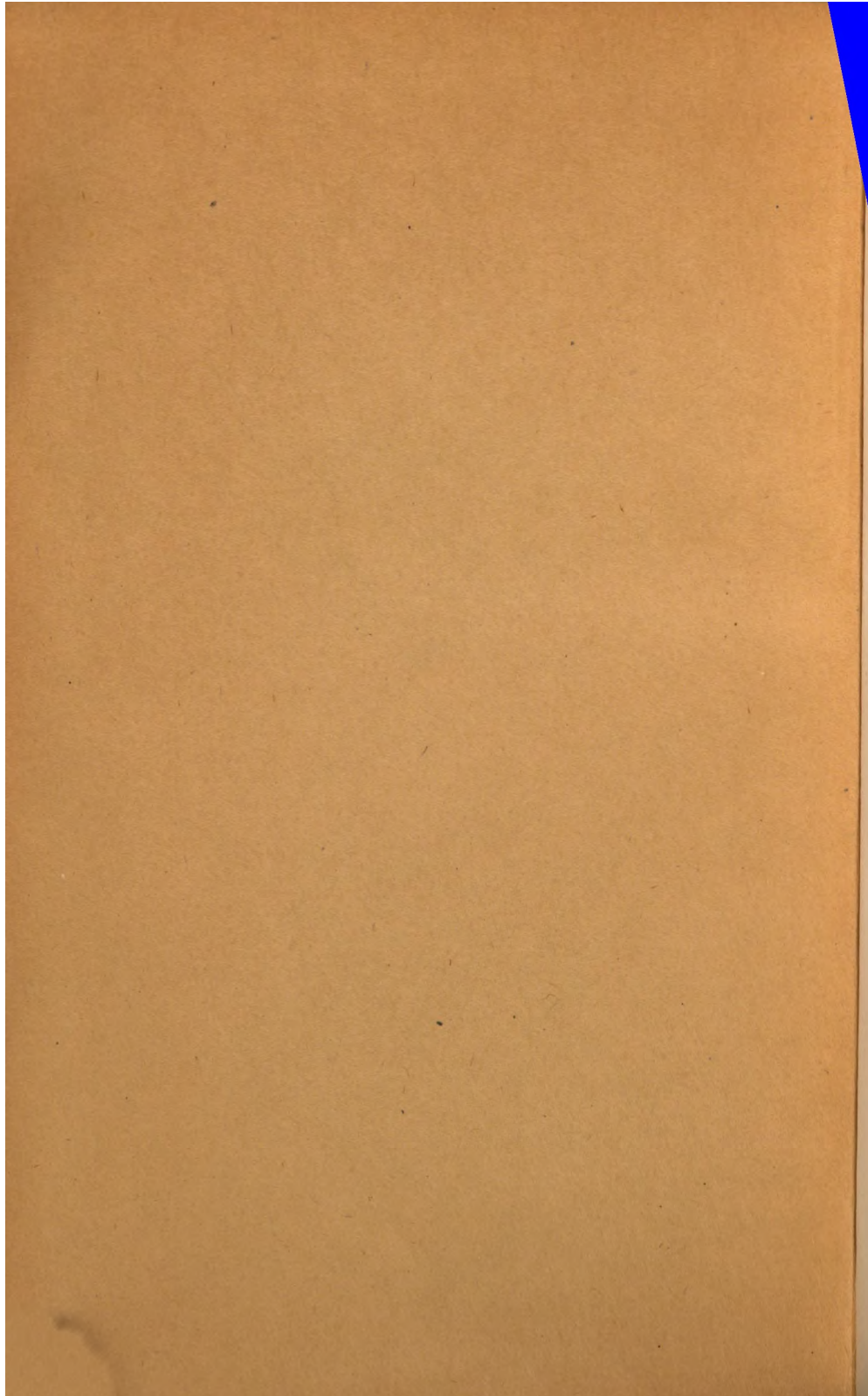
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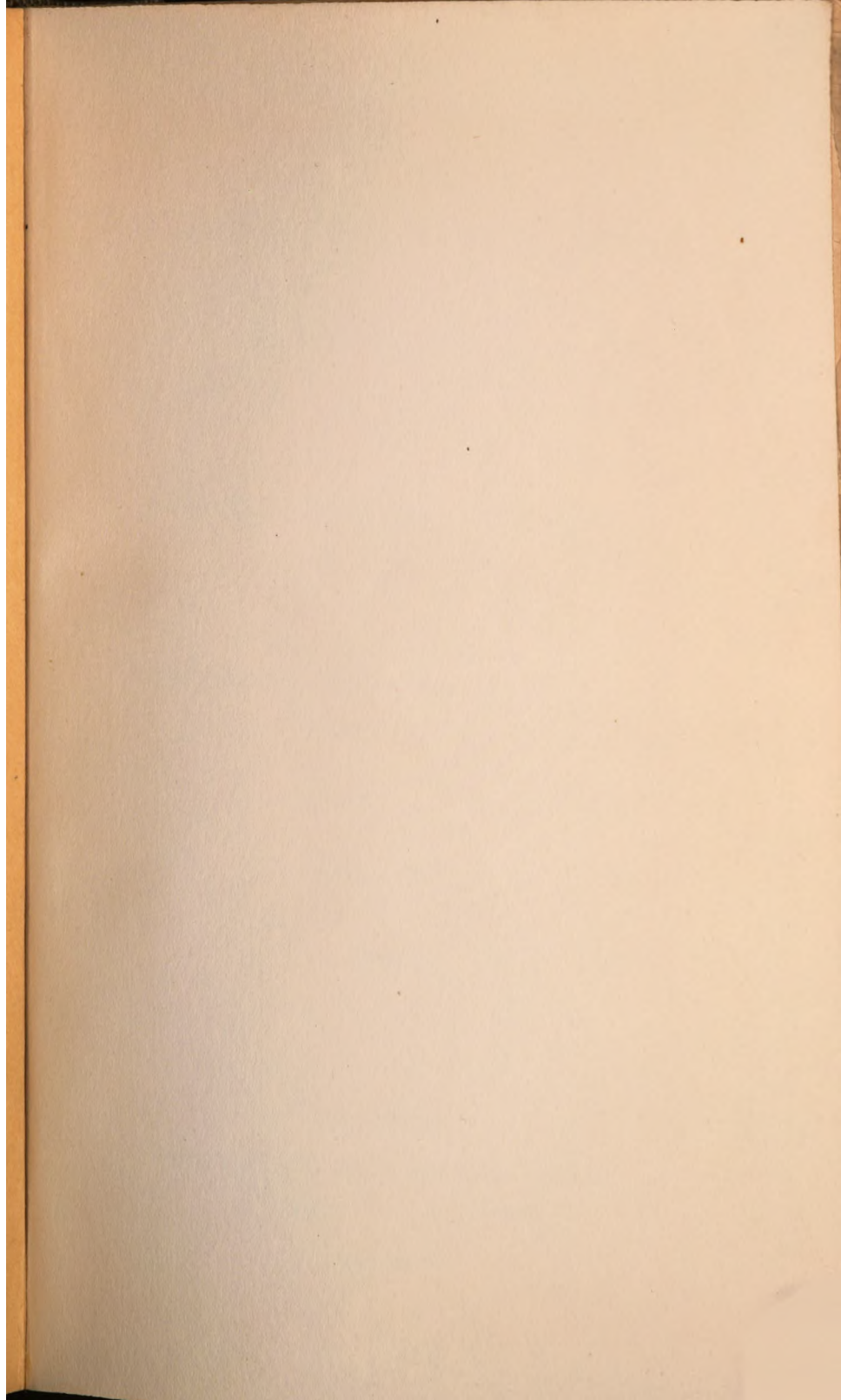


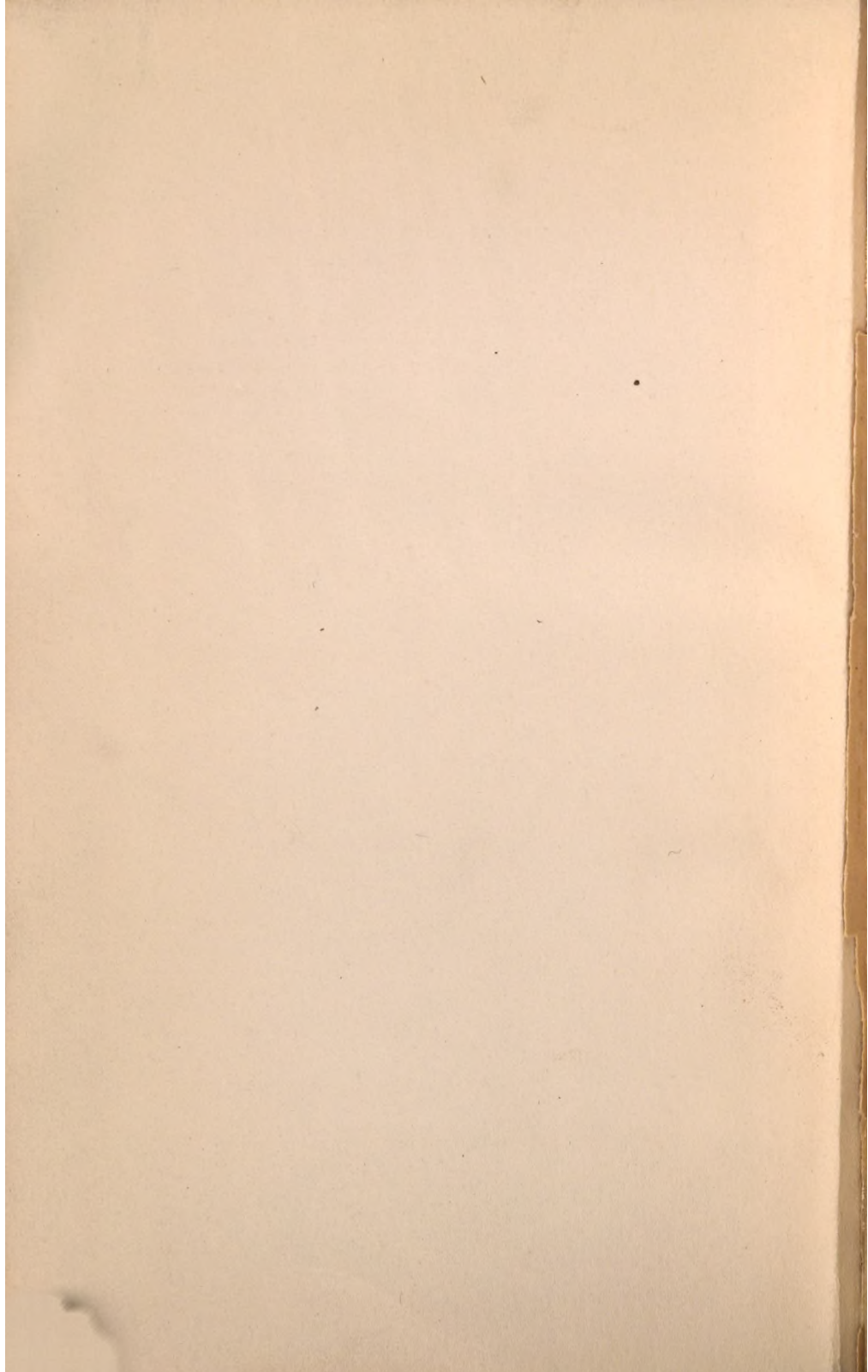
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THE
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"In primisque hominis est propria veri inquisitio atque investigatio."

CICERO, DE OFF.

VOL. XVIII.

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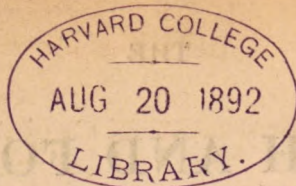
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THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN REVIEW.

ARTICLE I.

1. *First, Second, Third and Fourth Reports from His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to consider the State of the Established Church.* 1835, 1836.
2. *An Act to carry into effect, with certain modifications, the Fourth Report of the Commissioners of Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues.* August 11, 1840.

WE propose to resume the subject of English Cathedral Music. What it *was*, and what it *is*, has been already made apparent: we have now to contemplate its future prospects and position, and to show that, as surely as any result can be predicted from an adequate cause, so certainly may the fate of Cathedral Music be foreseen and foretold. Those who live long enough—and not many years will be required—may witness this consummation. As regularly as the sand of the hour-glass diminishes and at length runs out, so will the music of our churches progressively decline and come to an end, unless some adequate expression of public feeling shall induce our legislators to review their decisions and retrace their steps. Meanwhile the unchanged policy of its assailants may be stated in a word—silence. As long as the abolition of Cathedral Music was sought as a matter of principle the controversy was long and severe, but now (to repeat our own words*) “conflict there is none; the attacks of Capitular bodies have “been directed against weak and helpless inferiors, while the

* The British and Foreign Review, No. XXXIII. p. 107.

"remonstrances which have been at various times addressed to them through the press have been met by a discreet silence." Our former article on this subject has attracted the attention of persons well informed on the subject of which it treats; but we have looked in vain for any impeachment of the correctness of our statements: they are uncontroverted, and, we believe, incontrovertible. Our case was, that the English nation possesses "the richest collection of devotional music in the world, and the amplest endowments for its efficient performance; while their Cathedrals, the depositories of this store of genius and learning, the inheritors of all these munificent bequests, exhibit at this moment too generally the most helpless decrepitude or the lowest vulgarity." The first part of this statement rests upon historical and documentary evidence, of which enough, in our judgment, was quoted (though much more was at hand) to establish it. Of the second part, the inhabitant of any city is able to judge for himself. We cited the Statutes which prescribe the numbers and define the qualifications of every member of a choir: the evidence of his senses will suffice to satisfy any inquirer whether they are obeyed or violated.

We proceed to trace and record the measures which have placed the Cathedral Service in its present position. These are, in fact, the recommendations of a body called Ecclesiastical Commissioners, which have in due time received the assent of the Legislature and become the law of the land. Although these recommendations, embodied in successive Reports, bear the alternate signatures of Whig and Tory ministers, they all bespeak a common origin; they all aim at the same end, they are all cast in the same mould, "their unanimity is wonderful." There is another curious circumstance connected with the proceedings of this body,—they appear to have satisfied only their contrivers: every section and party in the Church has, in turn, denounced and attacked them. But with the general scope and design of the changes which they propose to accomplish, and which are yet but partially visible, we have at present no concern. It is not our intention to survey the new episcopal map of England and Wales, but simply to examine the design and spirit of the Reports and Act of Parliament which stand at the head

of this article, as far as they relate to and affect Cathedral Choirs and the Cathedral Service.

This formidable Commission was created in 1835, consequently in the reign of William IV., and comprized, in addition to the Lord Chancellor (Lyndhurst), Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Goulburn, the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Gloucester, Lincoln, and a few persons of less note. Among other powers, they obtained the authority (worded with convenient latitude of phrase) "to consider the state of the several Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales, with a view to the suggestion of such measures as may render them conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church." The first part of the first Report is devoted to a statement of the episcopal "territory" and "revenue" of the kingdom, and the proposed new apportionment of both; and then, under the head "Patronage," appears what the old divines called "the practical improvement of the subject."—"It will be expedient that the Bishops shall possess a certain portion of patronage, in order that they may reward deserving clergymen within their Dioceses." This principle being asserted and assumed, ample provision is made in subsequent reports for giving it effect, the Bishops claiming to be the sole judges of what constitutes *desert*. In this Report the state of the several Cathedral and Collegiate Churches is dismissed, with a promise that it shall be taken into consideration forthwith.

In a few months from the date of the first Report the ministry was changed; a new Commission was appointed, and the names of Lord Cottenham, Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell appear in the place of those of their official predecessors; but there remain Charles John, Lord Bishop of London, and his brothers of Gloucester and Lincoln, and there remains also the spirit of the former Report. The change of ministry effects no change in this measure, and Whigs are here found by their episcopal guides ductile and docile as Tories.

The Commission whence these parties derive their authority, and under which they act, enjoins them "to consider the state of the several Cathedral and Collegiate Churches in England and Wales with reference to ecclesiastical duties and revenues;" that is, it would be supposed, to ex-

amine their foundations and their statutes, and to ascertain whether these were strictly adhered to and faithfully administered,—whether their “state” was such as these required and enjoined,—whether their revenues were appropriated to their designed uses,—whether the persons filling the various offices necessary to carry on the Cathedral Service were competent to the discharge of their various and prescribed duties, and in point of fact whether they did discharge the duties required of them by statute,—whether the numbers of the Choirs (that is, the number of persons who perform the Service) conformed to the legal requirement,—whether in the schools attached to Cathedrals the statutory course of instruction was adhered to,—in short, whether the capitular members of Cathedrals were faithful and honest administrators of those laws which they had sworn faithfully and honestly to administer, and trusty guardians of those revenues of which the distribution, through their hands, was defined and prescribed; or whether they had forgotten and violated their duty as administrators of the law, and assumed the power of law-makers. To these points it would be imagined that any persons to whom such a power was delegated would have necessarily addressed themselves. This was no case in which the design of a founder had to be made out by inference, or concerning which there could be even a shadow of doubt; nor was there any change in the form or structure of the Service concerning which the inquiry was to be made. The buildings,—the Book of Common Prayer,—the Rubric,—the officers,—the music, not only in form but in substance,—the statutes,—the revenues,—were all what they were centuries ago, save that time had given them its added sanction and increase. Nothing had needed change,—nothing had been changed. The fitness of the building for the service, and of the service for the building, had been tested and proved: it had been abolished, but it had never been patched and mutilated. It had been the theme of admiration of the wisest, most devout and most learned men in the Church.

“I crave only,” said Bishop Taylor, “that I may call to mind the pleasures of the Temple, the order of her services, the beauty of her buildings, the sweetness of her songs, the decency of her ministrations, the assiduity of her priests, the daily sacrifice, and that eternal fire of devotion that went not out by day or by night. Those were the pleasures of our

peace, and there is a remanent felicity in the very memory of these spiritual delights, which we there enjoyed, as antepasts of heaven and consignations to an immortality of joys*."

And we find even the Unitarian preacher warming into eloquence as the Cathedral Service presents itself to him:—

"The natural sentiments of *worship* have been the parents of all that is great in sacred art. Architecture, music, painting and poetry first allied themselves with religion, not condescendingly, but reverently: to receive from it their noblest consecration. They put themselves submissively into its hands, willing to take whatever form its plastic power should impress, so they might but serve as its outward voice and manifestation. The Cathedral aisle sprung up and closed over the house of prayer: and Christendom feeling that the mere inarticulate speech of man was harsh when it took up the Holy name, adopted Music as its natural language†."

Before we proceed to a further analysis of the labours of this Ecclesiastical Commission, it will be expedient to refer to the controversy which was so long maintained in the Church respecting the use and fit employment of music in its service. Inasmuch as the battle has now to be fought anew, we ought to understand the ground which both parties then occupied,—who were the respective combatants,—their names, station, associates and design,—in order that it may be apparent to which section of them the present assailants of Cathedral music bear the closest resemblance. It will be seen that the conflict began early and continued long: we give the material facts in the words of Strype:—

"At the convocation held in 1562, certain members of the lower house (to the number of thirty-three) put in request that the psalms appointed at common prayer be sung distinctly by the whole congregation [that is, instead of antiphonal chanting], and that all curious singing as well as playing upon organs be removed.....That the use of copes and surplices be taken away," and "that all Saints' feasts and holydays, bearing the name of a creature, be clearly abrogated‡."

This document was signed by the Deans of St. Paul's, Oxford, Lichfield, Hereford, Exeter; the Provost of Eton, twelve Archdeacons and fourteen other clergymen.

"The disciplinarians in 1572 were creating new trouble and disturbance,—labouring for a further reformation. They published two books, 'The Admonition to the Parliament,' and 'A View of Popish Abuses yet

* Preface to the 'Apology for authorized and set forms of Liturgy.'

† Preface to a Collection of Hymns, by James Martineau, Minister of Paradise Street Chapel, Liverpool.

‡ Strype, 'Annals of the Reformation,' vol. i. p. 335.

remaining.' The Universities were much heated with these controversies. In Cambridge were Cartwright, the Lady Margaret professor, Browning, Brown, Millain, Chark, Dering and many of St. John's, who, being men of learning, made a strong impression upon the younger students*."

The design and character of these publications may be gathered from the following extracts:—

"Lordly lords, archbishops, bishops, suffragans and deans, with the rest of that proud generation, must down. Their tyrannous lordships cannot stand with Christ and his kingdom. The Book of Common Prayer is an imperfect book, culled and picked out of that Popish dunghill, the Mass-book, full of all abomination. As for the singing of *Benedictus*, *Nunc dimittis* and *Magnificat* in the common prayer, it is no other than a clean profaning of the holy Scriptures†."

"The regiment of the Church is anti-christian, and we may as safely subscribe to allow the dominion of the Pope over us as to subscribe to it. Let, then, all Cathedral churches be pulled down, which are no other than dens of loitering lubbers; and all deans and prebendaries be clean taken away‡."

The zeal and firmness of Parker, Whitgift, Jewel and other eminent divines, backed by the well-known partiality of Queen Elizabeth for the Cathedral Service, sufficed to preserve our cathedrals and their choirs intact; but the assault was continued in the same tone and temper till the period of the civil war. An extract or two from the various pamphlets which appeared during this interval will serve to show that its violence had not abated:—

"We need not such assistance as is borrowed from leathern bellies or horrid shouts, which confound the sweetness of a hymn, and which is destroyed by organs and quires. These cores in our devotion let us strive by all means to cut out, as careful confectioners from apples and pears, that so they may preserve the fruit itself§."

"To fancy the great God pleased with a pompous and noisy ostentation in paying him public homage, were to represent him as possessed with human vanity and folly; and as for the practice of singing alternately, I must need put on new spectacles before I can read its authority or decency. Let this sort of music, then, be driven out of our Cathedrals, as a prophane hindrance of divine worship||."

Meanwhile the Cathedral Service had no want of able and zealous champions, whose language, when employed in its defence, breathed a warmth and eloquence which experience

* Strype, vol. i. † Strype, vol. ii. p. 187. ‡ Strype, 38 App.

§ 'The Holy Harmony, or a plea for the abolishing of Organs and other Musick out of the Protestant Churches of Great Britain,' 1633.

|| 'The Rise and Antiquity of Cathedral Worship considered.'

and conviction alone could have inspired. Dean Comber, speaking of it, says,—

“Such music will mind us of the harmony of the celestial choir; it will calm our souls and gently raise our affections, putting us into a fit posture to glorify our Father which is in heaven: for sure he is of a rugged temper and hath an ill-composed soul who feels not the effect of this grave and pleasant harmony.”

To the same purport, but with more beauty and force of language, are the words of Hooker:—

“Harmony delighteth all ages, and beseemeth all states. It is as seasonable in grief as in joy—as decent when added unto things of greatest weight and solemnity, as in cheerful and becoming festivity. There is that draweth to gravity and sobriety; there is also that carrieth, as it were, into extacies, filling the mind with a heavenly joy, and for the time, in a manner, severing it from the body. So that even if we lay aside the consideration of ditty or matter, the very harmony of sounds, being framed in due sort, and carried from the ear to the spiritual faculties of our souls, is by a native puissance and efficacy greatly available to bring to a perfect temper whatsoever is there troubled: apt as well to quicken as to allay the spirit, sovereign against melancholy and despair, forcible to draw forth tears of devotion, able both to move and moderate all affections. Therefore doth the Church, at this present day, retain it as an ornament to God’s service and a help to our devotion.

“In church music, wanton, light or unsuitable melody, such as only pleaseth the ear, and serveth not the matter that goeth with it, doth rather blemish and disgrace what we do, than add either beauty or furtherance to it. On the other hand, such faults prevented, music, when fitly suited with matter sounding to the praise of God, is in truth most admirable, and doth much edify, if not the understanding, yet surely the affection, because there it worketh much. They must have hearts very dry and tough from whom such melody and harmony doth not sometime draw that wherein a mind religiously affected doth delight*.”

Passages similar in spirit and in tendency might be cited without number from the early and able divines of the Church of England. But many persons will probably now inquire, “Is it possible that such effects can be produced by the music of *our church*?” To which it must be replied, certainly not in its present state. The divines of a former period described what they heard, and its effect; they listened to the performance of a numerous and well-trained Choir, of from thirty to fifty voices, employed on music constructed with a direct reference to its aggregate strength and individual ability, and

* Eccles. Polity, p. 238.

they accurately recorded its power over their own minds. Hooker's is no poetical flight, but the simple record of an existing state of things. His successors of the present day would not dare to employ his language, even if they possessed the ability to utter it.

It will have appeared, from the above extracts, that the assailants of Cathedral Music are not a recent section of the Church; but that from the time of Cartwright and Whittingham down to that of Blomfield and Monk, such persons have existed,—not in lineal and uninterrupted descent, nor always employing the same means, since the former adversaries proceeded by open assault, and the latter have worked by sap and mine. It is not until the time of the Long Parliament, however, that we find the arguments for reducing Cathedral establishments assuming the form and substance of legislative enactment. In 1641 Sir Edward Dering brought in a bill for the appropriation of Cathedral revenues to other purposes; and this is the precedent—the sole precedent—for the act of 4th Victoria, Cap. cxiii. The bill of the Roundhead and that of the Bishop alike assume that it is “expedient” (convenient term) to make certain alterations in Cathedral and Collegiate Churches; and having established this principle, the Presbyterians of old and the prelates of the present day have carried it out just as suited their respective purposes. In the former case the attack came from an avowed enemy to episcopacy, which he described as the “immedicabile vulnus” of the Church of Christ. The motive, however mistaken, was an honest one; it veiled no selfish or sinister purpose,—the object avowed was the object really sought.

“The purposes of both these measures declared that they sought *opposite* results by the *same means*; and, as one only of them can be right, and a vital interest is involved in the conclusion, it is not too much to claim, in a spirit of true affection, the most thoughtful regard to consequences, among those who have been the authors of this unsatisfactory coincidence*.”

That attention to petition and remonstrance which was denied to the advocates of Cathedral establishments in the present day, was granted by the Long Parliament, before whom Dr. Hacket, then Canon of St. Paul's, delivered his

* ‘Thoughts on the Ecclesiastical Duties and Revenues Bill,’ by a Clergyman, 1840, p. 4.

speech in their defence, resting it chiefly on the following grounds:—"That in a well-governed church it is fit that there "should be places where daily thanksgivings and supplications should be made unto God;"—that Cathedrals were the fit places of abode and reward for men of learning and piety, where, exempt from the labours of parochial duty, and "supplied with large and copious libraries, they might utter that "which should endure the test and convince gainsayers;"—that "the principal grammar-schools in the kingdom were "maintained by those churches, the care and discipline of "them being set forward by their oversight, fit masters provided for them, and their method in teaching frequently "examined;"—that Cathedral endowments have answered their purpose in "training up the charioteers and horsemen of "Israel, champions of Christ's cause against the adversary of "their learned pens*;"—that "the structures themselves, the first monuments of piety in this kingdom," claim the care and respect of succeeding generations; and that "it were an "ill presage that those churches which were the first harbours "of the Christian religion should suffer from those persons "who are entrusted with their reparation and have the care "and custody of them."

Little did Dr. Hacket dream, when uttering this defence, that he was in fact pronouncing the severest censure upon his successors and the capitular members of Cathedrals in following ages, who have destroyed every plea that he urged. What is now the daily worship?—maimed rites and a mere shadow. Where are the champions of Christ's cause? where the learned and laborious toilers in his vineyard?—not in our Cathedral precincts. Where the grammar-schools attached to

* With this intent, and for this purpose especially, were the Canonries and Prebendal stalls of our Cathedrals founded and endowed. Whether in times past they fulfilled their design may be ascertained from the following list of divines, all of whom held some official situation therein; and those among them who were afterwards raised to the episcopal bench obtained their promotion as the fit recompense of learning and ability already displayed when capitular members of Cathedrals. Walton, Castell, Kennicott, Patrick, Louth, Graves, Horne, Sherlock, Beveridge, Tillotson, Barrow, South, Hall, Prideaux, Shuckford, Townshend, Hooker, Cave, Heylin, Comber, Wake, Waterland, Bull, Pearson, Bramhall, Butler, Lightfoot, Hammond, Whitby, Bentley, Stillingfleet, Casaubon and Potter. This list, we are aware, is a very imperfect one, but it will suffice to show the "fruits" of these endowments, to justify Dr. Hacket's defence of them, and therefore to prove the impolicy (to say nothing of other considerations) of their recent abolition.

our Cathedrals? where the "fit masters," the "careful oversight," "the frequent examination?*"

One objection on the part of the Presbyterian assailants was the performance of music in Cathedrals by a separate and paid Choir, and the great excellence of the music and its exquisite performance were also attacked. Those who desire to know what the Cathedral Service then was, in matter and in manner, in material and execution, need only call to remembrance the well-known passage from 'Il Penseroso,' which records its effect upon Milton's mind when a boy at St. Paul's school. To this objection Dr. Hacket thus replies:—

"I have heard that the service of Cathedral churches giveth offence to divers for the exquisiteness of the music, especially that in late years it is not edifying nor intelligible to the hearers. If it serve rather to tickle the ear than affect the heart with godliness, we wish the amendment of it. But the solemn praise of God in church music hath ever been accounted pious and laudable; yea, even that which is compounded with art and elegance; for St. Paul speaks as if he had newly come from the quire of Asaph, when he requireth us to praise God in psalms, in hymns and in spiritual songs. * * * And give me leave, I beseech you, to speak thus much for the quire-men and their faculty of music, that they maintain a science which is in no small request with divers worthy gentlemen. By the education of choristers from their childhood in that faculty, you have musicians that come to great perfection in that skill—few others but prove to be no better than minstrels or fiddlers."

If we can so far give the reins to our fancy as to conceive a similar objection being urged now,—if we can imagine a present Canon of St. Paul's to be publicly attacked on account of the "exquisite performance" of the Service,—his reply would not adopt in spirit or substance the tone of his predecessor, but would rather (if it spoke the truth) assume something like the following form:—"You make the exquisite performance of its music a ground of objection to the Cathedral Service. I can only reply, that we have done our best to degrade and destroy it: if it yet retain any portion of beauty or grandeur, the fault is not ours. We have alienated the revenues of the Choir,—we have reduced its number,—

* Those who desire information on this point, or seek an answer to this question, are referred to the 'Correspondence and Evidences respecting the Ancient Collegiate School attached to St. Paul's Cathedral,' 1832. It is hardly necessary to remark, that the Institution known by the name of St. Paul's School has no connection with the Cathedral, but is solely governed and ordered, under Dean Colet's will, by the Company of Mercers.

even from the few that remain we require only occasional attendance,—the voices of half our clerks are ‘in another parish,’—we pay them less than our grooms. We have silenced the Minor Canons, for, if by accident any are appointed who are able to sing, we never tax their musical powers. We expend nothing in the purchase or copying of music,—we discourage the publication of works intended for the Church Service,—we have rendered it impossible that the first compositions for the Church should be performed. What more can we do?”

It remained only to legalize these acts of injustice and usurpation, which had hitherto been committed by the mere exercise of superior might. Whenever the right of the Choirs to their endowments had been contested in a court of law or equity, the result had been to restore and confirm them. Witness the suits of the Dublin Choir and that of Bangor with the Dean and Chapter of their respective Cathedrals. The contest in the latter case was not entered upon until every method of petition and remonstrance had been found hopeless. Lord Eldon discouraged the prayer of the petitioning Choir; the suit was protracted, at a ruinous cost, for eight years; but the case of the petitioners was too strong to be resisted, and they obtained a decree in their favour. It happened, in this case, that Dr. Pring was a man of courage and of substance; but those only who have lived in a Cathedral town can understand the position of an organist, minor-canon or lay-clerk who dares to array himself, however just his quarrel, against his capitular superiors. He is, from that moment, as far as they can effect it (and they generally *can* effect it), doomed to poverty and misery. Aware of the illegality of their acts, these bodies have in some instances habitually guarded themselves against any legal scrutiny or question of them, by requiring of every member of a choir, on his induction, an undertaking that he will not prosecute any claim beyond that of his agreed and stipulated salary,—a precaution somewhat supererogatory from stipendiaries of fourteen shillings a-week.

The Second Report of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, as we have stated, was made during Lord Melbourne’s administration, and we proceed to examine its treatment of Cathedral Music. This is no agreeable duty, since every paragraph

connected with this subject betrays either a total disregard of truth, an insidious *suppressio veri*, or such a dexterous employment of language in order to disguise and distort facts, that the largest exercise of candour can scarcely admit even the discreditable plea of ignorance to be urged in its writer's behalf. We shall take the paragraphs as they stand, adding a running commentary.

"Our attention has been drawn to the condition of those ministers in the Cathedral and Collegiate Churches who are known by the names of Minor Canons, Vicars-Choral, Priest-Vicars, or Chaplains. The Service is performed by them, or some of them, in all these churches, twice and in some three times a-day, throughout the year."—*Second Report*, p. 13.

It is kept out of sight that, whereas the Statutes of all Cathedrals require the *daily* attendance of *every* member of the choir, clerical as well as lay, and require also that every clerical member should be a competent singer, such members in fact only give their attendance *in turn*, that very few of them *can* sing, and that scarcely any *do* sing. The service, as required by the Statutes, is *not* performed.

"The number in St. Paul's Cathedral is twelve; in others there are eight, six, four, and in the Collegiate Church of Manchester two."—*Ibid.*

In St. Paul's it is true that twelve persons erroneously styled Minor Canons receive a salary; but it is equally true that there is not one who gives any evidence of his being qualified to hold his office by a discharge of its duties. This assertion admits of easy verification. Let any person walk into St. Paul's, morning or afternoon, and satisfy himself whether twelve Minor Canons are there, assisting in the performance of the anthem and service for the day. He must have better fortune than has fallen to our lot for some years past if he ever find *one*. The residents in Cathedral towns can, in like manner, as easily ascertain how far the provincial corresponds to the metropolitan practice.

"The emoluments are almost as various as the numbers. At Durham some of the Minor Canons receive as much as 170*l.* a-year; in some churches they have not more than 30*l.*; but the majority receive from 50*l.* to 70*l.*"—*Ibid.*

This sentence confirms what we stated on a former occasion, that the salaries of Minor Canons, as such, have long been little more than nominal. For "as *much*" we ought to read "as *little*." The Minor Canonries at Durham were well endowed before the time of the Reformation with lands and houses, which were then confirmed to their existing and all future occupants by law, and have been since wrested from them by force or fraud. The addition of mockery to injustice might have been spared.

"In consequence of the smallness of their salaries, in almost all Cathedrals, we find a prevalent custom of giving to these ministers Chapter-livings, which they hold together with their places in the Cathedral."—*Ibid.*

If the whole truth had been related in this sentence, it would have run thus:—In consequence of the injustice which successive capitular bodies have exercised towards the Minor Canons of all Cathedrals, by despoiling them of those endowments which were bequeathed or given for their especial maintenance, it has been found necessary to resort to another exercise of power, equally illegal, unjust and arbitrary; and the incomes of the Minor Canons have been made up by Chapter-livings, that is, by imposing on them a duty wholly incompatible with that which the Statutes of every Cathedral require,—*daily* attendance and assistance in its choir.

"We are of opinion that the interests both of the Cathedrals and of the parishes would be consulted by retaining only so many of these ministers as are sufficient for the service of the Cathedrals, and giving them such salaries as may preclude the necessity of their holding benefices together with their offices in the Cathedral."—*Ibid.*

Truly this is a piece of as cool and self-complacent effrontery as can well be imagined. Disregarding all the intentions of pious and liberal founders, casting to the winds the Statutes of every Cathedral in the kingdom, in defiance of the concurrent opinion of the ablest advocates of the Church, and forgetful of the real and important duty which had devolved upon them, these degenerate successors of Parker, Hooker, Taylor and Tillotson*, decked in their little brief authority, pro-

* To the influence of Tillotson we owe the appointment of "Composer to the King," and therefore many of the labours of Blow, Croft, Greene, Travers, Boyce and the other eminent musicians who until the present time successively held it.

claim their design to fashion according to their own notions of expediency the venerable and admirable structure of the Cathedral Service,—*how*, will be seen hereafter. “Does the sagacity of an enlightened age,” asks the author of the ‘Apology for Cathedral Service,’ “consist in finding out that, by the prodigality of our ancestors, more servants have been assigned to the Most High than are needful, and in so conducting Cathedral Service, for which munificent provision had been made by large-souled men, as if it had to look for its support to the penurious grudgers of church-rates,—beings who would have exclaimed, when the precious box of spikenard was poured out, ‘Why was this waste?’” The utilitarian standard, by which it was intended to measure and cut down those establishments, is not here announced; but the spirit of this sentence sufficiently indicates its probable scanty dimensions. Did it never occur to these modern lights of the Church, that the number of “ministers sufficient for the service of the Cathedral” was probably as well known to those who apportioned and endowed them as to themselves? Do they imagine that by such endowments it was intended to create a number of useless sinecures in the shape of Minor-canonries, or that every Priest-vicar was not, as he was designed to be, a daily labourer in the house of prayer? They probably know better, but such is the impression attempted and designed to be conveyed in this sentence.

The origin and effect of a similar ecclesiastical commission for Ireland was thus justly described in the ‘Times’ newspaper:—

“Thus, then, the matter stands. A remedy is wanted for abuses which have crept into the temporalities of the Church. Endowments intended to secure certain definite and very necessary ministrations find their way into the pockets of persons who never perform them. What is the remedy? Is the trust enforced? Does the Legislature step in and restore the misappropriated endowment to its proper use? Does it compel the man who receives the money to insure the performance of the duty? Neither the one nor the other. No, it appoints a Commission, which abolishes altogether any connexion between the payment and the trust. It takes the money into its own hands, and lumps it all together, with other similar gains, into a central fund, to be disposed of by itself. The local endowment for the local purpose is swamped, and nothing is substituted for it. It is handed over to this central board, who are to apply it, not by any means for the purpose of the original foundation, but as the said Commis-

sion, having an eye to the *general* welfare (and their own salaries), may see fit."

It has been sufficiently apparent that they were not very scrupulous as to the means by which this power was to be obtained,—less concerned about the accuracy than the effect of what they said,—less anxious that it should be true, than that it should pass for truth. But let us proceed a little further with the text and our commentary. After enumerating the Cathedrals and Collegiate Churches, both on the old and new foundations, to which the proposed measures apply, the Report says:—

"In all these Churches the daily performance of the Choral Service is maintained out of the revenues of the Dean and Chapter."—*Second Report*, p. 9.

Now what are we to say to an assertion like this? How are we to deal with it? To say that it is utterly false would but imperfectly characterize it; it is the very opposite of true; the fact being, that the Dean and Chapter appportion to themselves, and therefore are in part maintained out of, the revenues given, bequeathed and designed for the daily performance of the Choral Service. Having in a former article given the historical and documentary evidence in proof of this fact, it will be unnecessary to do more than refer to its unimpeached statements, with the addition of a few other corroborative testimonies. The members of the Choirs, clerical and lay, were always designed and regarded as *members* of the Cathedral, not hirelings of a capitular body; "the inferior clergy, and sometimes the lay members, forming corporate bodies, distinct from the Chapter as far as their corporate *property* is concerned, but in subjection to them as far as regards the *service of the Church*.*"

Dugdale says:—

"The Petty Canons were twelve in number, having their habitation in distinct houses, some within the precinct and some without. Towards the maintenance of these, to *sing divine service daily* in this church of St. Paul, King Edward III. gave certain lands of the value of 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* per annum to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's. But in the eighteenth year of Richard II. they obtained the king's letters patent to be a body politic for the future, and called the *College of the Twelve Petty Canons of St. Paul's Church*, whereof one to be the warden, and also to have a common seal,

* Jebb's 'Choral Service.'

etc. At which time, in augmentation of their maintenance, divers lands and rents were by the said king's licence granted to them*."

The case of St. Paul's was substantially that of other Cathedrals. In a few instances the buildings appropriated to these collegiate establishments yet remain to attest their former existence :—

"In former times their members had, as at the Universities, a chapel, hall and common table. The college-buildings still remain at Hereford, Wells and elsewhere. The college of Wells, with its beautiful little chapel, and its arched passage, communicating with the north transept of the Cathedral, is singularly interesting. At St. Paul's all vestiges of the common buildings, which were standing in Bishop Grindal's time, have long disappeared, and the Minor Canons have no residence as such. At York the extensive college-buildings remain, but they have been altogether alienated from their original destination, with the exception of the chapel, which is sometimes used by the (civic) corporation. All the members together formed the Choir, and by the very nature of their office all, clerical as well as lay, were expected constantly to be present†."

That the choirs were separately endowed, chartered and maintained from their own revenues, prior to the Reformation, is an unquestioned fact; that all their revenues were secured to them at the Reformation is equally certain; and that to question or deny the tenure by which these were secured to them would be to unsettle and invalidate the tenure of church property universally, may be an unpalatable truth, but it is an unassailable one. To all this mass of historic evidence and of documentary testimony, illustrated and confirmed in every way, is now, for the first time, opposed a simple and unsupported denial. Let this pass, and with those who take the pains to examine its value, it will pass for what it is worth. To proceed :—

"The ordinary expenditure [of Deans and Chapters] appears to us in general economical and moderate, and such as is required for the due performance of Choral Service, the care and maintenance of the fabric, and the decent propriety of a Cathedral establishment."—*Second Report*, p. 14.

It is scarcely necessary to remark, that "the due performance of the Choral Service" is wholly incompatible with "the economical and moderate expenditure" which finds a complacent assent in the words of the Commissioners. The Ca-

* Dugdale's 'St. Paul's,' p. 17.

† Jebb, p. 101.

thedral Service was constructed for two sufficient and responsive choirs; it demands two complete and separate sets of singers. Many services and anthems cannot be performed at all without two contra-tenors, two tenors and two basses on each side, and even this number of voices is quite insufficient to give them their due and designed effect. They may be performed *pro forma*—scrambled through, burlesqued—with a smaller number of voices, but they cannot be *sung*. “Whenever this number is not present,” says Archdeacon Bayley, “the Service suffers mutilation;” and the choir-books will confirm his assertion. Some part must be omitted, transferred or inverted; some outrage on the symmetry and beauty of the Service must take place. Again we exhort our readers to appeal to the evidence of their own senses;—let them enter any Cathedral, and say whether they find this number of voices in the choir; they will then judge whether this “economical” provision is consistent with “the due performance of the Church Service.” But why is this “moderation” and “economy” alluded to in terms of such complacency? Why are the Commissioners desirous of sanctioning a transfer of the Choir revenues to persons and purposes for whom they never were designed? Why, but for the convenient value of the precedent? The purpose they had in view was to seize a certain portion of Cathedral property and convert it to such other uses as they might see fit. Hence, to commend the similar acts of capitular bodies, was effectually to silence Deans and Chapters, and to justify the spoliation of spoliators by an appeal to their own deeds. As far as the capitular bodies of Cathedrals were concerned, never was there an act of more complete retributive justice. They had plundered the inferior members of their churches, and now their superiors quoted their own proceedings as a sufficient justification for plundering them. Under such circumstances the obvious duty of the Commissioners was to inquire into the state of every foundation, to note every deviation from its plan and purpose, to examine into and report on all alienations of property, all violations of trust, all habitual neglects of duty, all unwarranted innovations. But on these points the Commissioners are silent. Two other clauses in the same Report sufficiently indicate the intentions of its framers, and the use

which they design to make of the precedent with which they had been furnished :—

“ We recommend that such regulations should be adopted, as may leave it in the power of Deans and Chapters, under certain restrictions, to give preferment to the members of their own body, and to the Minor Canons, who may reasonably look to them for reward after a certain period of service : and that where the presentation to any benefice in their gift is not required for these purposes, it should pass, in some cases to the Crown, and in others to the bishop of the diocese, in which either the Cathedral or the benefice may be respectively situate. * * * * We likewise recommend, that, in general, the livings, the patronage of which belongs to the Prebends which are to cease, and those in the gift of the Deans and Residentiaries, in right of their separate estates, shall, after the present Incumbencies, fall to the presentation of the respective Bishops.”—*Second Report*, p. 14.

It is worth while to remark the convenient uncertainty in which many of these recommendations are involved :—“ under certain restrictions,”—“ in certain cases,”—“ in general,”—“ subject to modification,”—“ reserved for further consideration,” and phrases of like import continually occur, all in truth having the same purpose in view, that there shall be a perpetual appeal necessary to, and a perpetual control vested in, the body of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who alone are to have power to give meaning and significance to these “ ambiguous givings-out.” The intention was however sufficiently manifest, and the members of the various Capitular bodies were not slow to take the alarm, —astounded, doubtless, that the design of Sir Edward Dering in the Long Parliament, for despoiling the Cathedrals, had been taken up by a royal Commission of the present age at the suggestion of a Bishop. Much pious horror and holy indignation were expressed at the attempt to alienate Cathedral endowments ; their most powerful, certainly their most humorous champion, being one of the residentiaries of Bishop Blomfield’s own Cathedral. But of what avail were eloquence and wit from such a quarter ? The reply was obvious :—“ The lesson you have taught me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.” It seems never to have occurred to these persons, that, in any censure uttered against the menaced episcopal attack, they were pronouncing their own condemnation, or that they had themselves fur-

nished a precedent for the spoliation which they now discovered to be sacrilegious and unjust; that they had turned a deaf ear to memorials and petitions complaining of similar wrongs, for which no redress was ever obtained but by the strong arm of the law. How forcibly do the words of Archbishop Whitgift describe the conduct of modern church dignitaries in the character of trustees, and how utterly regardless are they of this and such like exhortations! "When they that serve at God's altar shall be exposed to poverty, their religion itself will be exposed to scorn and become contemptible. And, therefore, as you are intrusted with great power over the Church's lands, dispose of them for Jesus' sake, as you have promised to man and vowed to God,—*that is, as the donors intended.*"

The Reports are written in a careless, flippant and insolent tone, indicating a too fatal certainty of their final result to render the labour of reasoning or even of correct writing necessary; and the conviction that Cathedral endowments, once the spoil of Presbyterianism, were now to be "gorged by prelaty" increased with every fresh episcopal manifesto. By men "coming on a sudden from a mean and plebeian life to be lords of stately palaces, rich furniture, delicious fare and princely attendance, whose mouth cannot open without the stench of avarice, was the treasury of the Church to be embezzled*."

Yet these men, "more audacious and precipitant than those of solid and deep reach," of whose labours in and for the Church of Christ the world has yet to learn, presume to array themselves against the opinions, and to set at naught the counsel of their learned and pious predecessors, to condemn their precepts, to despise their warnings. Let us listen to the words of Bishop Beveridge:—

"When anything hath once been settled, either by law or custom, so as to be generally received and used for a long time, it cannot be afterwards put down and a new thing set up in its stead, without giving great offence and disturbance, and perplexing people's minds with fears and doubts, and inclining them to have an ill opinion of the Church; for nothing is a greater blemish to a Church, nor gives more just cause to suspect that all is not right in her, than her not being steadfast, but shifting and changing. Let us have respect to the labours of those who carried on

* Milton.

and finished the great work of the Reformation; let us take heed how we meddle with what was done at that time; at least not so as to lay it aside. If we do, we shall soon find the want of it; for notwithstanding all our high conceits of ourselves, we shall find it difficult, if not impossible, to substitute anything in its place which will answer the end for which it was designed so well as that doth*."

The same reverential attachment to the existing structure and ordinances of the Church influenced those who effected the last revision of the Book of Common Prayer:—

"The form and order of her Service have continued the same unto this day, and do yet stand firm and unshaken, notwithstanding all the impetuous assaults that have been made against it by such men as are given to change, and have always discovered a greater regard to their own private fancies and interests than to that duty which they owe to the public†."

The voice of prophetic warning given in later times, to which their attention was directed by the author of the 'Apology,' it might have been supposed, would not have been equally unheeded by those innovators, presumptuous and self-sufficient as they were:—

"Men," said Burke, in reference to a former class of spoliators, "who undertake considerable things ought to give us ground to presume ability; but the physician of the state who, not satisfied with the cure of distempers, undertakes to regenerate constitutions, ought to show uncommon powers."

"In the scheme of these men, I confess myself unable to find anything which displays the work of a comprehensive and disposing mind. Their purpose everywhere seems to have been to evade and slip aside from difficulty. This it has been the glory of the great masters in all the arts to confront and overcome. It is the want of nerves of understanding for such a task, it is the degenerate fondness for tricking, short cuts, and little fallacious facilities, that has in so many places in the world created governments [and invested commissioners] with arbitrary powers. The difficulties which they had rather eluded than escaped meet them again in their course; they multiply and thicken on them; they are involved through a labyrinth of confused detail in an industry without limit and without direction; and, in conclusion, the whole of their work becomes feeble, vicious and insecure. They commence their work of reform with abolition and destruction. But is it in pulling down and destroying that skill is displayed? Your mob can do this as well as your assemblies: the shallowest understanding is equal to the task. Rage and frenzy will pull down more in half an hour than prudence, deliberation and foresight can build up in a hundred years."

"It is in the *principle* of injustice that the danger lies, and not in the

* 'Defence of the Book of Psalms, collected into English metre,' 1710.

† Preface to the Book of Common Prayer.

description of persons on whom it is first exercised. If prescription be once shaken, no species of property is secure, when once it becomes an object large enough to tempt the cupidity of power. When once the commonwealth has established the estates of the Church as property, it can consistently hear nothing of the more and the less. Too much and too little are treason against property. What evil can arise from the quantity in hand, while the supreme authority has the full sovereign superintendence over this, as over all property, to prevent every species of abuse, and, whenever it notably deviates, to give it a direction agreeable to the purposes of the institution?*

These remarks, so pregnant with wisdom, though unheeded by our Commissioners, most accurately depict the sort of men who undertook to new-model our Church, and the temper and talent which they brought to the task. These sufficiently appear, says the author of the 'Apology,' "in the haste and hurry by which their various propositions are distinguished, (and even the *composition* of their reports characterized); in the necessity to which they have been reduced by this inconsideration, of changing some and abandoning others of their plans, and the absence of all appearance of the great minds of former ages having been consulted in concocting them; in the singular character of their remedies, and their utter disregard or forgetfulness of what was designed by the builders-up of those glorious foundations which they are disturbing†."

The Third Report, dated May 20th, 1836, contains five pages, embracing fifty-four propositions, by which England and Wales are parcelled out into episcopalian allotments, according to a new and improved method,—the illustrations consisting of coloured maps. In this Report the subject of Cathedral endowments is not touched.

The Fourth Report, dated June 24, 1836, is a digest of the entire plan, ready for embodiment in the form of a bill. Meanwhile the members of Capitular bodies, in their corporate or individual capacity, persevered in endeavouring to avert their impending doom. Speaking of the wholesale prebendal transfer, the Archdeacon of Winchester rightly observed:—"It would be a waste of words further to illustrate my assertion, that *abolition* is the proper word for reducing the order from

* 'Reflexions on the French Revolution.'

† 'Apology for Cathedral Service,' p. 141.

“near 600 to 130.” The possible and probable effect of the example, so convincingly stated by Burke, was again urged. “It would be most unwise,” said the Master of the Temple, “by sanctioning a sudden and extensive revolution of a large mass of property, to give an example of spoliation, which might be most fatally acted upon as a precedent by the advocates of changes of a very different description. The Commissioners appear to have taken an opposite view, for they have acted upon the opposite principle*.” Some members of Capitular bodies hastened to the rescue with more zeal than knowledge,—among them the Dean of Norwich, who, not content with having destroyed the Cathedral Service in his own church, had the folly to assert that “if half the Minor Canons were abolished, Cathedral Service would be carried on in a more regular and efficient manner than it is at present;” and to denounce chanting, which he believed (well-informed man!) to be, according to its present plan, “a relic of the Church of Rome, and a practice which our judicious reformers could not have approved.” It is rather singular that so many of them should have defended it,—among others, that “*the judicious*” Hooker should have thus spoken of it:—

“When and how this custom of antiphonal singing came up in the Church is not certainly known; but this we know, that it is a thing which Christian Churches in all ages of the world have received,—a thing which was never found to have any inconvenience in it,—a thing which filleth the mind with comfort and heavenly delight,—stirreth up fragrant desires and affections,—watereth the heart to the end it may fructify, and maketh the virtuous in trouble full of magnanimity and courage.”

It was easy to foresee that the march of the Bishops would not be impeded or delayed by such opponents as Dr. Pellew; nor were his brethren, although better informed and more discreet, more successful. They had put themselves out of court; the answer to all attacks from this quarter was at hand, and of the highest authority: “With what judgement ye judge, ye shall be judged; with what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.” The work of degradation and plunder, so long progressive, was now complete. The Minor Canons, first rendered dependent, with every

* ‘Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln.’

temptation to become preferment-hunters, were now for the most part incompetent,—mute, and therefore useless; while the poor Lay-Clerks were almost spurned by the very vergers: “with bated breath and whispering humbleness,” cringing to the Dean’s butler as an acknowledged superior, or receiving orders in a Residentiary’s hall from his footboy. There exists not a class in England more degraded and bereft of the port and dignity of manhood than the men by whom the daily worship of God is now carried on in our Cathedrals*.

Of all this the Bishop of London must have been well aware. That the office of a Minor Canon had been generally converted into a sinecure, he must have known. His obvious duty, as a member of an ecclesiastical commission appointed to inquire into and report upon the state of Cathedrals, was to notice this fact with a view to its reform. This duty he left wholly unperformed; and, instead of endeavouring to correct a notorious abuse, he silently availed himself of its existence as the pretext for abolishing the office with which it was connected, and transferring the amount of patronage so created into his own hands. This was a consummation wholly unlooked for by Deans who had been quietly substituting their incompetent favourites to Minor Canonries. For these and other violations of trust, they thought there was nobody to call them to account; when lo! no sooner was the work of degradation complete, than Bishop Blomfield pounced upon them, upbraided them with the possession of so much useless patronage, and wrenched it from their grasp. He waited till the fruit was ripe, and then he plucked it.

We see here the consequence of violated Statutes, disregarded obligations and unheeded oaths. Fifty years ago this could not have happened. Whoever *then* entered a Cathedral found at least six Minor Canons occupied in the discharge of their daily duty. Who would have ventured to dispossess able and competent men from an office daily required and regularly performed? But whoever *now* enters a Cathedral will usually find one Minor Canon, and one only, engaged in

* We forbear to substantiate this assertion by proofs, solely from an unwillingness to subject the sufferers to fresh indignity and persecution. The facts of which we are cognizant would hardly be believed.

chanting, or perhaps only reading, the Service,—the rest, if present, idle. To this notorious fact is the appeal made, and upon it is grounded a plea for the abolition of the office; and if Deans and Chapters were the only parties concerned, the act would be one of strict retributive justice; unfortunately they are the least sufferers; but upon this point more hereafter.

In the earlier periods of the reformed Church the administration of the funds intended for the support of the Cathedral Service was subjected to the periodical scrutiny of the diocesan, the Statutes of each Cathedral forming the groundwork of the investigation. Thus the following "Articles" of Archbishop Parker in fact resolve themselves into the general question—"Is the Statute to which each article relates observed? and if not, why not?"

"Articles to be inquired of in the metropolitan visitation of Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury, in all and singular Cathedral and Collegiate Churches within his province:—

"Whether your Prebendaries be resident, or how many of them? Where every one of the rest be?

"Whether your divine service be used in manner and form prescribed by the Queen's Majesty's injunctions, and in none other way? Whether it be sung and said in due form?

"Whether your Grammar-school be well ordered—whether the number of children thereof be furnished—how many wanteth—and by whose default? Whether the statutes, foundations and other ordinances touching the same school, masters and scholars be kept? By whom they are not kept, and by whose fault? And the like, in all points, you shall inquire and present of your choristers and their singing-master."

The other "articles" are not cited, as they have no direct reference to the subject of our present inquiry; but these will suffice to show that, if the same salutary scrutiny had continued, the choirs would have retained their numbers and their efficiency; Cathedral schools would have continued to be the nurseries of a musically-educated priesthood, and prebendal stalls would have been occupied by resident and working clergymen.

It is worthy of remark that none of the Commissioners' Reports take any notice of the Cathedral schools, their design, their indispensable utility, their endowments, or their present state. This can be no undesigned omission; on the contrary, it seems to be part of the systematic plan for the gradual

abolition of the Cathedral Service. The subject of Cathedral schools is no novel one to the Bishop of London; it has been unwelcomely thrust upon him in all its length and breadth. He knows full well what they ought to be, and what they are, and is therefore aware that without some such provision the race of competent Minor Canons must cease;—he knows that it has ceased, and he knows why. Hence on the present state of the Cathedral schools he looks with a complacent smile. Here, again, he sees that the Deans and Chapters have played his game. No longer can they assert, with Dean Hackett, that “the principal grammar-schools in the kingdom are maintained by these churches,” and that they also “bring up musicians that come to great perfection in that faculty.” He takes care, accordingly, to leave them as they are, observing a profound and politic silence even with regard to their existence.

We have thus examined these several Reports,—fit preludes to the forthcoming Bill,—Reports containing such an array of principles, precedents and practices as might be anticipated from the principal mover in the affair. To these, as we have stated, are subscribed the names, among others, of Lord Chancellor Cottenham, Lord Melbourne and Lord John Russell, in connexion with that of “C. J. London.” These Whig ministers, in their ambition of legislation and in the fullness of their ignorance, commit themselves into the hands of their episcopal overseer, and proceed, just as he urges, in their helter-skelter attack upon Cathedral establishments. They seek no information—they heed no warning; they stop not to ask what will be the effect of this measure (*inter alia*) upon the Cathedral Service, which any boy from Westminster Abbey could have explained to them: they know not—they care not. It might have been anticipated that Lord Melbourne’s knowledge of the world would have led him to pause, to doubt and to examine, before he committed himself into the hands of a man whose constant aim and object had been priestly power and domination, and to hesitate before he gave countenance to a measure of which the avowed purpose was to centre patronage in episcopacy, and virtually to make one Bishop the author and giver of all good things,—to create that most

odious of all jurisdictions an ecclesiastical commission, and to uproot and destroy those venerable institutions which piety had founded, which munificence had endowed, and which learning and genius had adorned. On this occasion the Premier's usual discernment forsook him: the Bill was brought into the House of Lords by the Bishop of London, who explained, as suited him, its provisions. He was master of his subject,—he knew all its operations and effects, immediate and remote: no other peer seemed to do so, or probably did. It passed: the Bill became law. With its numerous transfers and alienations of Prebendal stalls we have now nothing to do: they are a series of very sufficient precedents for some future Sir Edward Dering, but our present concern is with its effect upon Cathedral Music and the Cathedral Choirs. The first clause which relates to these is the 45th:—

“Be it enacted that from henceforth the right of appointing
“Minor Canons shall be in all cases vested in the respective
“Chapters, and shall not be exercised by any other person or
“body whatsoever; and that, so soon as conveniently may be,
“and by the authority hereinafter provided, regulations shall
“be made for fixing the number and emoluments of such
“Minor Canons in each Cathedral and Collegiate Church;
“provided that there shall not, in any case, be more than Six
“nor less than Two.”—*Act of Parliament*, p. 1113.

As “the authority hereinafter provided” is the Ecclesiastical Commission, of which the Bishop of London is the reputed chief and director, this clause must, in order to a right understanding of its intent and designed interpretation, be taken in connexion with his comment. In the speech with which he introduced the bill his Lordship said, “*It is not our intention to tax the musical powers of the Minor Canons,*”—a commentary which, it seems, provoked “a laugh” from his noble hearers. Taken in connexion with this significant hint, we may be assured that the lowest will be the future real number of Minor Canons. In fact, if they are not to sing, two is one too many. If the subject were not too serious in itself and in its consequences for a jest, the coolness with which a bishop of the Church of England could thus, and in such terms, propose to abrogate a vital and essential portion of the

Statutes of all our Cathedrals, to overturn those provisions whose wisdom and efficacy had been proved for centuries, and to convert the Cathedral Service into a shapeless ruin, might have provoked us to echo the laugh of his hearers. But this is no subject for unseemly mirth. We rather desire "to claim our right of lamenting the wrongs of the Church, when others, that have ventured nothing for her sake, have not the honour to be admitted mourners." We may not live to see it, but this clause seals the doom of the Cathedral Service; it lops off the right arm of every Choir and terminates its efficiency. Those who ought to be, those whom the Statutes expressly require to be, those who for centuries *were*, the mainstay of every choir, are now to be for ever silenced; the music of Purcell and Croft is henceforth, by warrant of law, to be committed to day-labourers at a shilling a time. A few of these hirelings will crawl into their stalls and utter some kind of sounds,—the organ will play, and the Dean and his verger will keep their wonted state; but the Cathedral music of the English Church is gone. The effect of this clause is not immediate,—no Minor Canon is to be ejected; death is to accomplish the Bishop's object, gradually and imperceptibly; one by one Minor Canons will drop off, and none will be allowed to supply their places. A few years, and the work will be done. Mute for ever will be the heavenly voices of Purcell and Gibbons, of Boyce and Battishill; unheard, unsung will be their matchless harmonies. When this time arrives, look round from your episcopal throne, Lord Bishop of London, and say, "This is my work!"

The abuse by which Minor Canons are compensated for the alienation of their revenues by livings, instead of being rectified, is legalized and perpetuated by this act of Parliament, so that even the two will be found to dwindle down to one. As if in mockery, it is enacted "that no Minor Canon hereafter to be appointed in any Cathedral or Collegiate Church shall be allowed to take and hold together with his Minor Canonry any benefice beyond the limit of six miles from such church." If he is not present and performing his statutory duty in the Cathedral, what matters it whether he is in the adjoining street, six miles or six hundred miles off? The duties of a Minor Canon and those of a parish priest are wholly incompatible,—

they had been declared to be so by the Commissioners themselves*: what new light had now dawned upon them?

The immense yearly income arising from the confiscation of Cathedral property of all kinds, it is enacted, "shall accrue" and be vested absolutely in the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, "without any conveyance thereof or assurance in law other than the provisions of this Act;" and this not as a trust of which they are to render an account as a public and responsible body, but absolutely and entirely, "for the cure of" souls, in such manner as shall, by their authority, be deemed "most conducive to the efficiency of the Established Church." Truly a most convenient, loose and comprehensive arrangement of words, so skilfully put together as to mean anything, and to sanction any kind of expenditure which this secret ecclesiastical conclave may think fit to order! There is no abuse which this clause will not legalize; the door is open to oppression, jobbing, trickery, prodigality, profligacy of every kind; and, since the existence of the Star Chamber, no such fearful tribunal has exercised its power in England. Secrecy, immense influence and yearly augmenting wealth, extending to every parish, irresponsibility, virtual self-election,—such are the attributes and powers of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners.

This mighty machine will, in fact, be worked by a few hands. In addition to the Archbishops, Bishops and two Deans, the Commissioners consist chiefly of persons appointed by themselves, or of functionaries who, they well know, are already overburdened with public duties,—the Lord Chancellor, the Secretaries of State, the Chief Justices of the courts of Queen's Bench, Common Pleas and the Exchequer; the Judge of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury and the Judge of the Court of Admiralty. Six laymen are appointed by the Queen and the Archbishop of Canterbury. The working of this part of the act is already visible. The Bishop of London (always on the spot) and a few obedient laymen, practically make up the Ecclesiastical Commission. A strange face is now and then seen: occasionally a stray Bishop or two wander into the room,—the Judges never,—the

* See quotation from the Second Report quoted above at page 13.

Ministers never, when they can avoid it. We cannot doubt that all this was foreseen, designed, arranged: it was plainly intended by the author of this Act that ecclesiastical patronage and power should center in himself, and it does. The effect is only partially visible at present, although every subsequent session of Parliament has brought to light some new and unexpected result, at which legislators uplift their eyes in wonder and their voices in indignation. Its operation, as designed, is gradual and stealthy: death silently and regularly transfers wealth to the hands of its new distributors, who "will pay none but such as they find conformable to their own interests and opinions; and the clergy will too often frame themselves to that interest and those opinions which they see best pleasing to their paymasters." The operation of this piece of legislative impiety and folly may be stated in the answer of the Bishops of a former reign to a somewhat similar attempt*:—

"It overthroweth the foundation and statutes of all cathedral and collegiate churches, and taketh away the principal reward for learned preachers.

"It taketh away daily service used in these churches (which were impiety), unless it be said and sung by such as are no ministers, which is absurd.

"It will breed a beggarly, unlearned and contemptible ministry. It is the very way to overthrow all colleges, cathedral churches and places of learning, and to breed great confusion in the church and commonwealth."

That the effect of this Act of Parliament was but imperfectly understood by the Legislature and the public is certain. They committed themselves into the hands of Bishop Blomfield, and are now alarmed and angry at the consequences. These are significant evidences of a prevalent conviction, that the plea of church extension was only urged with the design and for the purpose of transferring an enormous addition of Church patronage to the episcopal bench. We take the following passage from the '*Times*' of March 30, 1844, as one among many illustrations of this state of public feeling:—

"The Bishop of London had immense patronage on his promotion to the see of that name: but the suppression of the Minor-Canonries, we are assured, has vastly increased his patronage, as well as that of the other

* 'Answer from the Bishops to the Book of Articles offered to the last Session of Parliament.' (Eliz. Anno 23, 1580.)

Bishops throughout the kingdom. * * * * * We have specified a part of the error committed by increasing the episcopal patronage. The Church is feeling at this moment the consequence of the abuse of that patronage. * * * There is a species of benefice in the Church called donatives, or peculiars, to which Lord Cottenham alluded in the debate of Tuesday. These benefices, universally small ones, are generally also in the free gift of private persons. We are not aware that anything has been publicly proved, or even alleged, as to the manner in which they are either obtained or served; and yet, in all the movements of Church Reform, so called, we observe that the efforts of the Bishops have been directed to deprive these benefices of their free character, and to render them subject to their jurisdiction. If a case of public necessity, or even convenience, can be made out, of course the private owners and ordinaries of these livings have nothing to do but to submit to a deprivation which certainly wears some appearance of injustice. But it must abate the zeal of Churchmen to enlarge the sphere of episcopal jurisdiction, when they find the Bishops themselves glad of excuses not to exercise it in the most atrocious cases. Moreover, are the holders of these donatives, or peculiars, worse than certain episcopal nominees whom we could mention?"

If these remarks are correct when connected with the Church property of individuals, with how much greater force do they apply to the alienation of public property designed for public uses. In the one case it is simply a forcible transfer of patronage from A to B; but in the other, the offices themselves, with all their duties and public advantages, are swept away. Enough has already transpired in courts of justice, in petitions to parliament, and in facts which are perfectly notorious in various neighbourhoods, to furnish a reply to the question with which this paragraph concludes. These are lamentable evidences of the working of the new system, and grievous indications of the mode and the means by which Church preferment may now be obtained.

Whoever is at all conversant with the writings of the Fathers of the Church cannot fail to be struck with the entire discordance of tone and opposition of sentiment, which subsist between these and the Reports of Bishop Blomfield and his coadjutors; as well as with the coincidence of opinion, of reasoning and sometimes of language, between these recent innovators and the most potent adversaries of the Establishment. "These Church revenues," says Milton, "are likely "to continue endless matter of dissension in the Church, and "there will be found no better remedy for the evil than to "*convert them to such profitable uses as shall be judged most*

"necessary." The words of the Report are, to apply them "in such manner as shall be deemed most conducive to the efficiency of the Church*." These facts are significant and suspicious,—sufficiently so, it might have been expected, to have put statesmen and legislators on their guard, and have warned them to trust to no mere assertion from obviously interested parties, but rather to have examined competent witnesses—to have called for documentary evidence—to have paused, hesitated and looked around them, in order to ascertain the certain and the probable consequences of their decision. But the subject wanted the excitement of a party contest or a personal squabble, and therefore aroused neither inquiry, attention nor discussion in the lower House, while in the upper one it was treated as a mere question of patronage, in which the only parties interested were the existing and the proposed possessors.

In this point of view it was too generally regarded by the public, among whom of the present generation, it must be borne in mind, there exists little knowledge of what English Cathedral music really is. In stating our own conviction that it is the richest collection of music for the noblest purpose in the world, we do but echo the opinion of all competent judges, of all who have weighed its merits against the devotional music of other churches. But of this fact the public cannot be cognizant. "How can they reason but from what they know?" The knowledge of a musical composition is derived either from reading or hearing; the former source of knowledge is not possessed, in this kingdom, by

* The framers of the Reports and the Bill appear to have studied Milton diligently and to some purpose. "Touching church reformation," says he, "we must not have recourse to ecclesiastical canons, though never so ancient, so ratified and established in the land by statutes, which for the most part are positive laws, neither natural nor moral, and so by any parliament, for serious considerations, without scruple, to be at any time repealed." This was natural and consistent in Milton, who in the preceding page had thus eulogised the Parliament for having dealt in like manner with kingly authority. "The Parliament of England, assisted by a great number of the people who appeared and stuck to them faithfullest in defence of their religion and their civil liberties, judging kingship by long experience a government unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous, justly abolished it, turning regal bondage into a free commonwealth." His argument is this:—Parliament has a similar control over the powers of the King and the revenues of the Church—the former may be "justly abolished,"—the latter "converted to such profitable uses as may be judged most necessary." The Commissioners have adopted Milton's exhortation only in part; his more consistent imitators will not be inclined to stop midway, but will go with him wholly and entirely.

one man in ten thousand; and of the comparatively few who have obtained it, but a small number have the means of applying it to Cathedral music. The scanty lists of subscribers to Boyce's volumes and to Purcell's Sacred Music, tell us how insignificant a portion of their countrymen possess these invaluable collections. The probability is, that Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham together could not furnish a dozen copies of either. Thus is "knowledge at one entrance quite shut out." Nor let any person, on entering a Cathedral, labour under the mistake that he hears there the music which was written for it, as it was designed to be sung: he will merely hear an illustration of the *corruptio optimi*, for reasons which we have already detailed. The *people* of England, therefore, know nothing of the music of their Church; those who chance to hear it are impressed with a conviction that it is a compound of dullness and imbecility, and that if it must be sung for form sake, the less that is heard of it the better; hence the total indifference to those provisions of this Bill which have ensured its destruction. The fate of a few dissenting endowments was sufficient to set the kingdom in a flame, and to produce hundreds of petitions from members of the Church, about property in which they had no concern: but our Cathedral Music was doomed without the uplifting of a single voice in its favour in either house of Parliament. The public acted as if they had no interest in the issue of what they regarded as a mere squabble between Bishops and Deans about a certain amount of patronage. This is a fatal mistake, as a little examination of the facts will suffice to show.

Art in its various forms of display, genius in its diversified modes of exhibition, are the sources of a nation's wealth and greatness. The labours of the poet, the sculptor, the painter, the architect, the musician, are but exemplifications of like talent and demonstrations of similar intellectual power; and their excellence is the standard by which we measure the rank and stature of a nation's mind. Yet is this a truth to which many will give only a partial assent. They assign a subordinate rank not only to the labours of a single artist, but to an entire region of art which they have never happened to study, and to which they are therefore unable to apply the

test of criticism. It was said by a competent judge that "Purcell is as much the pride of England as Shakspeare, Milton or Newton." This assertion such persons would doubt, if not disbelieve; they would wonder to see a musician thus associated; but their wonder would cease, if they were able to read and understand what he wrote. They would then discern the same self-sustained power, the same creative fancy, the same bright and original thought, the same intellectual vigour, in his productions as in those of the poet or the philosopher. Every work of genius forms a part of that foundation on which a nation's character, station and fame are erected, and their preservation is as much its interest as it ought to be its pride. We apply these remarks to the Music of the English Church, and we say, apart from its use, and without any reference to that highest purpose for which it was written and to which it ought to be applied, that it is a heritage of genius strictly national and of unequalled excellence. This constitutes its claim to the admiration and therefore to the sedulous care of the people to whom it has been bequeathed. If they value the buildings as monuments of art, for which this music was written,—if they preserve and restore the Minster of York with willing liberality and anxious solicitude,—if they call into new existence the architectural beauties of the Temple Church,—the same feeling should lead them to preserve those similar evidences of genius, the services and anthems which were written for the purpose of being daily sung in these and other Cathedrals and collegiate churches, as well as to maintain in their full efficiency the means which have been provided and bequeathed for their performance. Whatever of grandeur or grace, of majesty or beauty belongs to the English school of music, has been nurtured and reared in our Cathedral and Collegiate Churches. If we have reached any musical eminence, we owe it to these institutions: they gave us Tallis and Byrd, then Gibbons and Blow, then Lock and Lawes, Clark and Wise, then Henry Purcell, then Aldrich, Weldon and Croft, then Greene and Travers, lastly Boyce, Cooke and Battishill. For centuries did these men keep alive (often under most discouraging influences) the sacred fire of the altar, consecrating to the glory of their Maker the exalted powers with which he had

endowed them. The immediate product and result of their labours for the Church we know, since a portion of what they wrote has descended to us; but who can calculate that wide-spreading and beneficial influence of their genius upon the art in all its branches, which we trace through succeeding generations and in various directions? Our madrigal writers, for instance, the successful rivals of their great Italian and Flemish contemporaries, were the offspring of our Cathedrals. Byrd, Morley, Weelkes, Este, Farmer, Bennett, Hilton and Bateson were all the children, afterwards the organists and singing-men, of our Choirs. Who was the founder of, and the richest contributor to, our dramatic music, and of whom was it truly said by Dr. Boyce, that "he possessed a genius superior to that of any of his predecessors, together with a depth of musical erudition not inferior to the most learned of them, while his talents, not confined to any particular manner or style of composition, displayed equal excellence in everything he attempted?"—a boy brought up in the Chapel Royal, and to the end of his life the organist of Westminster Abbey. And where was reared the most accomplished singer that this country ever produced?—in the same choir. These are advantages to the art in general directly traceable to this source; but the benefits which it has indirectly received cannot be estimated. The music of the Cathedral is the only music of a high character that is open to the English people. Concerts and operas are for the few,—for such as can afford to purchase an expensive luxury; but the doors of our Cathedrals are open, not one day in seven, but "day by day;" and in these abundant provision was made for performing the finest music in the best manner. This of itself is no inconsiderable boon, yet, when compared with the indirect advantages which such endowments have conferred upon the art, it sinks into insignificance. The Cathedrals were schools where a number of musicians were constantly trained, where the choicest vocal compositions were presented to their attention, and where a correct taste was generated and diffused, not merely in the individual choir, but over the entire circle of which a Cathedral town was the centre. Musical academies were planted from end to end of the kingdom,—from Canterbury to Carlisle, and

from Llandaff to Norwich. The beneficial influence of such a provision is no matter of inference or conjecture; we know how advantageously the presence of such men as Gibbons, Weelkes and Bateson, Aldrich, Rogers and Child, and in more recent time of Hayes, Crotch and Beckwith, was felt in the towns where they resided. Nor was this all: copies of the Anthems and Services written for various Cathedrals were circulated and used in their vicinity, and thus, not only the cultivation of good music was stimulated and aided, but the compositions themselves were perpetuated. Had not these found their way into private collections many would have perished. Dr. Tudway, in one of his letters to Humphrey Wanley concerning the collection of Cathedral Music which he was employed to make for the first Earl of Oxford, says, "I have received more help from honest James Hawkins than from all the Cathedrals in England and Ireland;" and many of Dr. Blow's anthems, whose existence only is recorded in the books of the Chapel Royal, will be found in the library which Lord Fitzwilliam bequeathed to the University of Cambridge. Still greater has been the advantage resulting from the publication of Cathedral music. The collections of Boyce, Arnold and Page—the volumes of Purcell, Croft, Greene and Battishill—are known and studied by every English musician. They form his text-books and models; they are the authorities to which he appeals,—the originals he strives to copy; and it is gratifying to see that the demand for a consequent supply of these works is increasing. The collections of Boyce and Arnold are in the course of republication, and Mr. Chappel has rendered the yet more acceptable service of printing, for the first time, some admirable morning or evening Services by Dr. Tye, Dr. Creyghton, Dr. Croft, Jer. Clark, P. Rogers, Barrow, Hilton, Kelway and Robert Cooke, several of which are printed from copies in the possession of the editor, Dr. Rimbault.

This is a cheering fact, as it indicates a growing anxiety for the possession and preservation of Cathedral music. The law, as it now stands, has doomed their choirs, but so much of their music as now remains is safe. The time will come when the public voice will demand—not the repeal of a single clause in this piece of heedless and sacrilegious legislation—

not the rescue of a single Cathedral from the grasp of an ecclesiastical commission, but the restoration of Cathedral plunder and an apportionment of Cathedral revenues, according to the requirements of their statutes and foundations. And as at the former abolition of the choirs, their music had been preserved by individual zeal and care, so that at the restoration they found again upon their desks the works of Tye, Farrant, Tallis and Byrd, in like manner when the time of their second restoration shall come, future Choirs will find these, with the copious additions of subsequent composers, ready for their use.

The large additions which have resulted to various charitable institutions from the cultivation and performance of sacred music are well known. One of these, directly arising out of a friendly annual meeting of the three Choirs of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford, is more immediately connected with our present subject. In the year 1724, when the members of these Choirs, with other lovers of music, held their annual meeting that year at Gloucester, it was proposed and unanimously agreed, "that at these Meetings there should be a collection made after morning service at the Cathedral door, for placing out or assisting to the education and maintenance of the orphans of the poorer clergy belonging to the dioceses of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford, or of the members of the three respective Choirs, to be disposed of by six stewards, members of the society, a clergyman and a gentleman respectively belonging to the said dioceses." In his sermon preached at the anniversary in 1729, held at Hereford, Dr. Bisse, then Chancellor of that diocese, thus advocated the employment of music in aid of the greatest of Christian duties:—

"In this our yearly assembling, religion may be said to have not so properly a *share* as the *sole* interest. Piety laid the foundation, charity hath built thereupon: the promotion of both is found in the groundwork and in the superstructure. May it subsist unto many years, yea generations! tending to the furtherance of God's glory, in the exaltation of his holy worship, to the improvement of our Choirs and the credit of our foundations, to the benefit of our cities, to the comfort of the fatherless, to the delight of ourselves and all that come around us. Upon these grounds it commenced, and upon these let our brotherly love continue."

The titles of most of the sermons preached by many emi-

ment dignitaries of the Church are sufficient to show the importance they attached to its music. We quote a few as evidences of the fact:—‘On the Efficacy of Sacred Music to prepare the mind for good impressions;’—‘Church Music vindicated;’—‘A Defence of Church Music;’—‘On the Antiquity, Dignity and Advantages of Church Music;’—‘The importance of Church Music in the sacrifice of Thanksgiving;’—‘The Divine Influence of Church Music.’ The men who preached these sermons had some other notion of the divine art, when associated with the worship of the Most High, than of a service which was to be performed no matter how, provided it were done at a sufficiently cheap rate. Equally apparent is it, from the history and origin of this charity, as from numberless other facts, that the clergy of former times were accustomed to regard the members of a Cathedral choir, not as abject dependents and low-bred hirelings, but as brethren and fellow-labourers*. The “wages” of the Lay-clerks were then probably more than fourteen shillings a-week†. This voluntary association of the Choirs had, in the year 1811, produced to the charity for which it was designed no less a sum than 27,186*l.* 4*s.* 7*d.*‡ Verily if the Church has beggared the Choirs, they have, in this instance at least, returned good for evil.

The music of the English Church has attained its elevated station in consequence chiefly of its national stamp. It possesses some of the excellencies which are common to all sacred compositions of a high order, of whatever school. It abounds with skilful and masterly fugues; nor are the more elaborate exercises in Canon wanting. In Purcell’s Service in B flat no less than ten of these compositions appear; and his magnifi-

* A Sermon preached at Oxford a few years before the establishment of this Meeting of the Three Choirs, and entitled ‘Cathedral Service decent and useful,’ was thus dedicated by its author:—

“To William Croft, Mus. Doc. Oxon., Composer to His Majesty.

“Sir,—When I was desired to publish this sermon, there could be no dispute to whom I should dedicate it. It does of right belong to you, who are so great an ornament to your profession, who have contributed so well to the *true* Church music, and so much to the happiness of your most obliged and humble servant,

“WILLIAM DINGLEY.”

† Since the preceding article on this subject was written, we have ascertained that in some Cathedrals Lay-clerks have not ten shillings for their week’s work of two attendances every day.

‡ ‘History of the origin and progress of the Meeting of the Three Choirs of Gloucester, Worcester and Hereford,’ by the Rev. Daniel Lysons.

cent anthem, "O God, thou hast cast us out," is a piece of fugal counterpoint in the manner of Palestrina in nowise inferior to similar exercises of that great master. Our Church writers, from Tallis to Battishill, may be regarded as the best models of vocal part-writing; and in all the characteristics of ecclesiastical composition which the English school shares in common with those of Italy and Germany, it holds no second place. But the possession of these qualities confers not its peculiar claim to admiration, which is rather found in the forcible and just expression which all our great masters have imparted to their sacred compositions,—in the constant connexion which they have preserved between sound and sense. They treated music as a language designed and fitted to appeal more forcibly to the heart than mere recitation, and they used it accordingly. The modern writers for the Catholic Church, among whom we include Hasse, Jomelli and their contemporaries, too frequently regard words as the mere vehicles of sound; and whether the music, written to the same words, be grave or gay, seems the mere effect of caprice or chance. The solemn invocation with which the Mass opens is, by the same composer, set to music of a totally opposite character,—at one time with becoming gravity and solemnity, at another with a sole desire to render the movement sparkling and showy. The words implore the mercy of God and of Christ, while the music affords, and is designed to afford, to the *prima donna* of the choir the welcome opportunity of displaying her *agilità di voce*. The "peace of God" is supplicated at the close of the Mass by the rapid and noisy reiteration of a hacknied operatic cadence, to the words "Dona nobis," a dozen times repeated with intervening symphonies. The grand crash is reserved for the "pacem," which is shouted to the full roar and din of the orchestra, the "brass band" being at this point let loose, and the enraptured drummers enjoying the licence and luxury of a *fortissimo*.

Such is the inevitable consequence of admitting the style of the theatre into the music of the Church. It begins by imitation,—it ends by amalgamation and adoption; it begins by being *like* the music of the Opera,—it ends by being the same. The taste of listeners (not worshipers) becomes more and more depraved; the musical appetite requires fresh sti-

mulants; the house of prayer is regarded and called "the Sunday Opera;" singers are only eager for individual display, and the bravura of the preceding night is repeated with a clumsy adaptation to Latin words, in the hope that, during its performance, admiration of the creature may be substituted for adoration of the Creator. These results are before our eyes; we hear 'Di tanti palpiti' played and sung in a place of worship, and a 'Stabat Mater' turned into a set of quadrilles. And why have such indecencies never been perpetrated with English Church music? Simply because it is impossible. Its anthems express, in appropriate musical sounds, the sentiment with which they are connected, and they will express no other. In those compositions which may be said emphatically to embody and represent the English school of Church music, the connexion of sound with sense is recognized and adopted as a principle. "Music and poetry," said Purcell, "are twin-sisters, lovely when apart, but most lovely when united."

This perversion of the true end and purpose of devotional music, into which eminent modern composers for the Church of Rome have been seduced—or perhaps, against their own better judgement, driven—has been censured by the best authorities of that communion and country. Thus Kircher, in a chapter devoted to the errors and abuses of modern Church music, having denounced the practice of regarding words as mere vehicles of sound, says—

"In hunc eundem errorem incidunt Missarum compositores, qui dum vocem *Kyrie eleison* ante Deum per humilem supplicis et prostrati animi affectum exprimere deberent, ridiculis saltibus et incongruo diminutarum notarum augmento clausulis choreæ theatrisque quam Ecclesiæ aptioribus referunt: verum hoc forte illis ignoscendum, dum quod Græcum est non intelligunt*."

Martini thus describes the true character and end of Church music:—

"Chi vuol comporre per servizio di Chiesa dee accomodarsi al fine ch'ella ha avuto nell' accompagnare le lodi di Dio col canto. Il fine della Chiesa altro certamente non è stato, se non se col moderato di lui allettamento eccitar l'animo a sollevarsi a Dio con affetti divoti e religiosi, rendendo lodi alla sua infinita Maestà. Qual sorte di Musica per tanto usar

* A. Kircheri *Musurgia Universalis*, p. 564.

dovressi per conformarsi a un tal fine? Se noi riguarderemo con diritto e spassionato animo la Musica de' nostri giorni, piena di tanti vezzi lusinghieri, di tanti passi graziosi, di tanti scherzi e delicatezze, saremo forzati a confessare che non serve che per allettare e dilettere il senso."

He then illustrates the corruption of sacred music and its growing assimilation to that of the theatre by several instances, among others by a celebrated composition of Pergolesi for the church, adding:—

"Questa composizione del Pergolesi, se si confronti con l'altra sua dell'Intermezzo intitolato *La Serva Padrona*, si scorge affatto simile a lei, e dello stesso carattere, eccettuati alcuni pochi passi. In ambedue si veggono lo stesso stile, gli stessi passi, le stesse stessissime delicate e graziose espressioni. E come mai può quella musica, che è atta ad esprimere sensi burleschi e ridicoli, potrà essere acconcia ad esprimere sentimenti pii, devoti e compuntivi come quella degli Ebrei? Questi sentimenti sono troppo tra di loro contrarij, perchè una stessa stessissima musica possa esprimersi entrambi*."

In the language of yet more indignant rebuke the late learned and accomplished *Direttore* of the Pope's Chapel denounces this practice:—

"Ora quali idee potevan mai suscitarsi negli auditori, allorchè udivano nelle Chiese o intonare un *Kyrie*, un *Gloria*, un *Credo*, od un Motetto: ovvero eseguirsi sull'organo una Sonata con quelle stesse melodie, con quella misura, con quegli andamenti, che forse la sera indietro eran loro serviti a trastullo, che avevan misurati i loro passi nel ballo, che poterono essere le scintille onde accendersi in loro qualche fuoco novello, od avviarsi il sopito: che riducevan loro alla memoria quegli abiti, que' visi, quelle parole, quelle mosse, que' sorrisi, quelle gare, quel trionfante libertinaggio? Ohime, la casa santa di Dio! Ohime, il luogo venerabile dell'orazione! Ohime, il divin sacrificio incruento! Ohime, l'irritata divina giustizia, che vibrar doveva già già i fulmini dell'acceso furore†."

The existence of the Cathedral Service has contributed to the national character, as well as to the unrivalled excellence, of our devotional music. It has no duplicate in any church in Christendom, Protestant or Catholic, and can be heard in England alone. Our composers, from the period of the Reformation, have been free to open the sacred volume for themselves, and thence to select words suited to different seasons or festivals of the Church, to occasions of national mourning or rejoicing, and not unfrequently to give fit utterance and ex-

* Saggio di Contrappunto, da F. G. Martini, 1774, pp. 7, 8.

† Baini,—Vita di Palestrina, vol. i. p. 162.

pression to their own feelings. We often trace the accidental or the habitual turn of mind of a composer in his writings. Who can hear, for example, Jeremiah Clark's Anthem, 'Bow down thine ear, O Lord, and hear me,' without recognizing in it the language of a wounded spirit and a broken heart, the passionate supplication for divine aid, the anguish of a mind to which existence finally became a burthen too heavy to be borne? "The depth of Clark's meditative devotion, in his saner moments, cannot be doubted," says Mr. Jebb, "by those who have studied his inimitable anthem, 'I will love thee, O Lord;' than which none in the English language brings into more expressive relief the skilful contrasts of divine poetry, whether we regard the verse, the chorus or the symphony. The author must avow his deliberate conviction, that no commentary which he has ever read, has, to him, so brought out or illustrated the meaning of that wonderful psalm as this composition."* This is no solitary instance of the intrinsic worth, the inestimable value and the unrivalled character of our Cathedral music. It might have borne unquestioned testimony to the attainments of its authors, it might have exhibited abundant proofs of industry, erudition and skill, it might have fulfilled every condition that the critic would require, but it might also have been destitute of that quality which is above and beyond all others, which renders it the fit and efficacious ally to devotion, and one of the golden links which unites earth with heaven!

"If music doth indeed possess such power and assert such a dominion, shall we exclude it from the sanctuary? Shall we abandon one of the most efficacious instruments for controuling the passions and regulating the affections of men? Is it wise to leave it in the hands of the enemy and the seducer, and not direct its influence to those better purposes for which it is fitted and designed? Who would restrain the force of language in this place? Yet is it weak when compared with the voice of music; mightier is the eloquence of song than that of speech."†

To all these queries the Bishop of London's Bill practically answers "Yes." The works of the musician, unlike those of the poet, the painter or the sculptor, must make their appeal

* 'The Choral Service of the United Church of England and Ireland,' by the Rev. John Jebb, A.M., p. 385.

† 'The Churchman's Song of Praise:' Sermon by the Rev. Charles Thorp, B.D.

to the public through the instrumentality of other persons, who must be endowed by nature and by temperament, as well as trained by education. When a composition is committed into the hands of incompetent persons, it is not a performance of it but a travestie. The singer and the composer must have a coincidence of soul and sentiment, or the intent of the composition is not manifest. A ploughman as the reader of Shakspeare and a country Lay-clerk of the present day as the singer of Purcell, are engaged in a work for which they are equally and for a similar reason unfitted. In proportion as the style of music is elevated,—that is, in proportion as it reaches and expresses the loftiness of its subject,—in proportion as it is precisely what it ought to be,—will the incompetency of the singer appear more conspicuous. Yet into such hands—to journeymen at fourteen shillings a week—is it intended that such music shall be exclusively committed for performance. The class of persons for whom it was written—men of education as well as musical knowledge—are henceforward to be excluded from every choir. “It is not my intention,” said the Bishop of London, “to tax the musical powers of the Minor Canons.” Are we accustomed thus to deal with music elsewhere—are we content with vulgarity or even with mediocrity when it appears in the form of an entertainment? On the contrary, is not Europe ransacked for singers and players, and if any are known to exist, surpassing or reputed to surpass the average degree of excellence, is any sum thought too large to obtain their services? Often does a single singer at the Queen’s Theatre receive at the end of a season an amount of money larger than is paid to the united choirs (meaning by the word “choirs” those who sing) of St. Paul’s and Westminster Abbey. This would not be a very creditable state of things, even if we had to pay for our choirs as we do for our opera-singers; but this is not required of us. Not a shilling needs to be drawn from our pockets, no rates need to be levied, no jangling vestries need dispute, no appeals to courts ecclesiastical or civil need arise, no church-rate martyrs need suffer. The piety of our forefathers has ensured not a “moderate and economical,” but an ample and munificent provision for public worship, in the noble edifices which they erected to the honour of God. Let

this be justly and honestly administered, let the Statutes of Cathedrals be enforced, and the end is accomplished.

These facts will suffice to show that the operation of Bishop Blomfield's Bill are of general interest and concern ; that, so far from being an affair in which Bishops and Deans and Chapters are the only conflicting parties, there is not an Englishman, worthy the name, who ought to contemplate its tendency and final issue with indifference. It has been apparent that we possess an ample, rich, and, we repeat, unrivalled collection of devotional music ; and that, in consequence of the existence of Cathedral Choirs, great advantages have accrued to one of the arts in various ways. But the Commissioners virtually say, "Cui bono? what utility is there in the Choral Service of the Church, or in the maintenance of a large Choir? What need you five-and-twenty, ten, or five? We prefer a more *moderate* and *economical* arrangement." Be it so ; but be consistent. What need we a Cathedral, why 'the high-embowed roof,' the 'antique pillars,' and the 'storied windows,' any more than 'the full-voiced Choir?' Spend no more money in preserving and restoring your minsters. Why this waste? Pull down these vast and costly structures, sell the materials, and in some snug corner erect a square brick building ; level St. Paul's, and let out its valuable site on building-leases.

This spirit, now avowed from the episcopal bench, is fitly rebuked by a republican preacher :—

"Happily," says Dr. Channing, "human nature is too stubborn to yield to this narrow utility. It is interesting to observe how the very mechanical arts, which are designed to minister to the necessities and comforts of life, are perpetually passing these limits ; how they disdain to stop at mere convenience. This 'utility' would work a great change in town and country, would level to the dust the wonders of architecture, annihilate the fine arts, and blot out innumerable beauties which the hand of taste has spread over the face of the earth. The idea of beauty is an indestructible principle in our nature, and this single truth is enough to put us on our guard against vulgar notions of utility."

If a Cathedral is to be regarded only as a place to confer a title on a Bishop, a barn will answer that purpose as well. There is no tenable ground, no safe position, no consistent middle course, between the destruction of Cathedrals altogether, and their retention in their designed magnificence.

The building and the service are perfectly harmonious and well-adjusted in their plan and proportions; everything that belongs to them is of a piece, every element contributes its share to an aggregate of beauty and grandeur; the place is fitted for the music and the music for the place. A beggarly choir in a stately and finely-proportioned edifice is worse than none, because every admixture of poverty and splendour is offensive. Be consistent therefore,—carry out your principle, and raze our minsters and cathedrals. Perhaps you are not inclined to hazard such a proposal, but others will have no such fears and misgivings. You have given in your allegiance to the Utilitarians,—you have adopted and avowed their principle as your guide,—can you wonder if they labour to follow it out? can you consistently refrain from helping them? Have a care, gentlemen, “you have given a lesson of legislative interference with the property of the Church, which many will be found too ready to learn*.”

There is one striking and important fact connected with the history of Cathedral Music, which alone ought to have sufficed, if not utterly to condemn the entire work of innovation, at least to have induced doubt and hesitation on the part of those who gave it the sanction of law. So long as music continued to be part of the education of a clergyman (that branch of the art, at least, which might form a portion of his daily duty), the ministers of the Church were never found among the advocates of destruction or innovation. They knew better: from study came knowledge, from knowledge admiration. They were the advocates of Cathedral music in the pulpit and from the press; many were ornaments and examples to their respective Choirs, many enriched the libraries of the Cathedrals by their compositions. Do we ever find any fondness for change, any hints for new-modelling the service from such men as Aldrich, Tucker, Holder, Creyghton, Finch, or Bayley? Never: the labours of these dignitaries of the Church (all of them connected with Cathedral or collegiate churches or with the Chapel Royal), were directed to the improvement of their Choirs in every

* ‘Letter to the Bishop of Lincoln.’

way. Aldrich, the accomplished scholar, the acute polemic, the skilful logician,—in addition to all his other labours as a member and champion of the Church, and in addition also to his duties as Dean of Christ Church,—was, of all these, the most abundant contributor to our stock of devotional music. Dean Aldrich's management of the Christ Church choir is thus related by one of the Oxford Professors of Music:—

“1st. He never admitted a boy chorister, unless he had given sufficient proof of his abilities; by which means he had always a good supply and a complete set; for parents, seeing that children who had merit were certain of being preferred, were very solicitous to get them previously instructed. 2ndly. In admitting a singing-man or chaplain, he made it a rule to give the preference to one who had merited his favour in a lower capacity, provided he was qualified for his new station. By a strict observance of this method, there was not a useless member in his choir; for the chaplains had then an equal share of choral duty with the singing-men; nor was there the least grumbling or complaint on that account; the Dean himself setting a noble example to the former, by constantly singing a part in all the Services and Anthems. 3rdly. In order to keep up the spirit of music, and to promote social harmony, the whole body attended him duly on a certain evening in the week, when he not only appointed the pieces that should be performed, but assisted in the performance himself. What an admirable example was this! Could any of the band be remiss or negligent when animated by such a leader?”*

Dr. Hayes, who states that this information was given him by a member of Christ Church in the time of Dean Aldrich, thus describes the conduct of Cathedral dignitaries in his own time:—

“What protection can the organist of a College or a Cathedral expect from one who has no relish for music, which is often the case, or from one who apprehends he is placed in his stall for no other purpose but to play the bashaw over the inferior members? Such an one, in case of a vacancy, will pay more regard to the person who recommends, than to the merit of the candidate. Parts and abilities are no qualification nowadays; some previous questions must be answered to the satisfaction of the Dean; as, how did his father vote at the last election, or how does he intend to vote at the next? And unless these questions can be satisfactorily answered, no other arguments will avail. The organist, failing in his attempt, retires, with this mortification added to that of being obliged to endeavour to make singers of those to whom nature has denied the necessary requisites,—a slavery equal to that of the Israelites in Egypt. And without a proper supply of Singing-boys, what Chaplains, Minor Canons, or Lay Clerks can be expected as useful persons in Cathedral duty? This is a most un-

* ‘Remarks on Mr. Avison's Essay on Musical Expression,’ by Dr. Hayes.

comfortable reflection to all lovers of Church Music, and to those who wish its advancement; and what affords no better, is the mean and scanty remuneration annexed to the office of Lay Clerk in every Cathedral in the kingdom, excepting the very few where the Minor Canons and Lay Clerks have retained their ancient privileges of letting and renewing their estates, and of making the same proportionable improvement in them as the Dean and Chapter make in theirs. For the generality, the salaries belonging to these inferior members remain identically the same as at the Reformation; the Deans, with their brethren of the Chapters, being careful to monopolize the profits arising from the improvements of these estates to their own private advantage. Hence the miserable performances which we hear in Cathedrals: as it cannot reasonably be expected that the poor men, who have obtained these places merely to eke out a pitiful maintenance, should neglect their necessary employments to study the art of singing properly. Thus, if the Dean on the one hand be regardless how the state of music stands in his Cathedral, the singers are equally so; and in such a disgusting situation the organist will have little appetite to set about the work of reformation. He has little probability of being reimbursed for purchasing music, or paid for having it transcribed into the choir-books, while he knows the impracticability of getting it performed with tolerable decency*."

Dr. Hayes in this passage was describing his own position, and relating facts which never were impeached or disputed. The corporate privileges of the few choirs who had retained them are all swept away by that zealous defender of the sacredness of trusts and the inviolability of endowments—the Bishop of London†.

Every measure which has been devised for the destruction of Cathedral music has originated from men profoundly ignorant of its worth and beauty; other, worse motives have conspired, but a musically-educated priest was never known as its assailant nor ever appeared in the character of an innovator. In this class we certainly do not include the Cambridge students who have learned the flute, nor the Oxford ones who blow their more favourite cornopean; but we mean such as have applied themselves to the study of the art in its highest character and for its noblest purposes. Among such will uniformly be found (as far as our inquiry and experience extend) the zealous advocates and ardent admirers of the Cathedral Service.

The fact to which we have alluded would not have the

* *Ibid.*, p. 94, *et seq.*

† See his speeches on the Dissenters' Chapels Bill.

smallest influence on the conduct of those who framed the recent act of Parliament. With presumptuous folly, or in unpardonable ignorance, they pursued their headlong career, overturning prebendal stalls and minor canonries, trampling upon the spoils of genius and the ruins of art, their eager eyes only fixed upon the golden prize which their outstretched hands were ready to clutch. But what excuse can be framed for the conduct of statesmen and legislators, who, without hesitation or inquiry, precipitated the work of destruction? They were invited to legalize certain novel projects, coming from a suspicious quarter and having a most suspicious tendency,—among others, to uproot and overturn the Cathedral Service. Did these questions never occur to them? “How comes it about that this scheme is now propounded from episcopal authority for the first time? The Cathedral Service must have been planned by the fathers of our Church—it has existed ever since—it has received the sanction of her most eminent divines from that time to the present,—why is it now proposed to destroy it? We ought, at least, to inquire before we proceed; at present we are in the dark, and therefore ought to tread cautiously; we are ignorant, and therefore ought not to legislate*.” If they needed authorities, the concurrent opinions of the most eminent dignitaries of the Church in every successive reign were at hand; if documents, the Statutes of every Cathedral were at their command, and the decisions of courts of law; if oral testimony, that of Minor Canons, Organists and Choirmen was at their door; but if they sought a precedent, they would find it only in the journals of the Long Parliament. But they cared for none of these things, and with indecent haste and unpardonable indifference rendered reform impossible and ruin certain.

There is another circumstance connected with this Act of Parliament which, whether originating in ignorance, carelessness or design, will equally contribute in no inconsiderable

* “A foolish divine, here and there, blind to his own interest, may have hinted that he was content with the method approved and practised by Barrow, Tillotson, Juxon, Tenison, Sherlock and Wake. But what ignorance and perverseness to oppose such men as these to the mighty Trismegistus! Vicarages and rectories are in his right hand, and in his left endowed chapels and stalls—therefore he is infallible.”—*Letter in the ‘Times,’ signed ‘Sottosopra,’* March 30, 1844.

degree to accomplish its general intention with regard to Cathedral music. It contains no provision for the appointment of a Precentor, nor even any recognition of the office or its duties. The Service of the Cathedral (essentially and, with the exception of the Lessons, altogether musical) is thus left without any director or head. The office of Precentor is one of great antiquity and of prime importance. "Paulinus," says Bede, "leaving York and returning to Rochester, left behind him one James, a priest, who, when that province had peace, and the number of the faithful increased, being very skilful in ecclesiastical song, began to teach many to sing after the way either of Rome or Canterbury."—"That is," says Dean Comber, "he taught clerks to chaunt the Liturgy of St. Augustin to its proper notes*."

The office of Precentor of St. Paul's was afterwards separately endowed:—

"As the former kings did by their several charters confirm all the lands and possessions which had been given to this Cathedral, so also did King John by Charter, dated at Shoreham, 16. Junii, give sundry lands for the founding of a chief Chanter here†."

The duties of the Precentor have been adverted to in our former article‡. To the importance of these, Church history, Cathedral statutes and choir-books, and the writings of our best divines concur in bearing testimony. The responsive choirs of every Cathedral are named after the Dean and the Precentor: every Service in existence, from the time of Tallis to the present day, is constructed with a reference to this arrangement, and the words "Decani" and "Cantoris" occur repeatedly in every page of each, the stall of the latter being on the side opposite to that of the former officer.

The following passage from Bishop Beveridge will show his estimate of the dignity and responsibility of a duty which is now quietly abolished:—

"Besides the stated Psalms, there is another Hymn or Anthem appointed to be sung in such places [Cathedral and Collegiate Churches]. But what that shall be is not appointed by the Church, but is left to the

* Beda, *Histor. lib. ii. cap. 20* (quoted by Comber).

† Dugdale's *St. Paul's*, p. 8. (Ellis's edition.)

‡ The *British and Foreign Review*, No. XXXIII. p. 90.

discretion of one who presides there, to choose such as he shall judge most proper to set forth the glory of God in general, or upon any particular occasion. In which great care ought to be taken that it will be such as will answer its end. Otherwise, instead of furthering, it will interrupt devotion; which, whosoever shall be the cause of, either by his carelessness or indiscretion in the choice, ought to be called to account for it by his superiors here, as he assuredly will by the Supreme Judge of the world at the last day*."

The Statutes of every Cathedral prescribe the qualifications, and define the duties, of this important office. The latter are unceasing and various, and demand suitable attainments. The entire economy of the Cathedral is arranged by the Precentor; he (as a Recorder to the Mayor of a corporation) is the Dean's adviser; every appointment should be virtually made by him, because he is required to be a fit and competent judge of every candidate's qualifications; the "combination," as it is called, for every week is made by him; he is to select every Service and Anthem for performance—to see that they are diligently prepared and efficiently sung; he is to allot every singer his place in the choir, and assign to every Minor Canon or Lay-clerk his part in whatever he may require to be performed; he is to select such music as he may see fit to be purchased or copied; the library is to be under his care, and he is responsible for its preservation, renewal and increase. He is to select Anthems and Services suited to the various festivals of the Church, and on the greater feasts he is to intone or commence the church hymns.

Now, we ask, who, henceforward, is to discharge these duties? Not our Deans,—for of them they are not required, nor are they competent to the work,—neither the (two) Minor Canons, for we have it from Bishop Blomfield's own lips, that "there is no intention of taxing their musical powers." By whom then are these daily and onerous duties to be discharged? A Choir without a head is as an army without a leader; and no one member of the body, save the Precentor, has any more power than his fellow. Nothing remains but that the Lay-clerks and boys should sit in council (the organist, in many Cathedrals, not being a recognized and statutable

* 'Defence of the Book of Psalms.'

officer) upon the weekly "combination," and, if they can, agree upon it. Perhaps this is part of the plan,—truly it is of a piece with the rest of it.

It is wise, it is politic, it is graceful in us to cherish a national school of Church Music; since a nation which aims at or assumes greatness, should sedulously promote within itself every variety of intellectual activity, and especially exertion in that department of art wherein it has learned to excel. The facility with which the works of art, and especially of music, are brought into this country is an advantage, but not without a possibly attendant evil. If this foreign supply is to supersede our national and natural aliment, dearly will it be purchased. Let us receive from our neighbours their contributions as aids, but never as substitutes; and the more we receive from other countries, the greater need have we of our own produce. A people trained and accustomed to look abroad for intellectual succour, and to whom the expectation of foreign aid is always present, will become mentally debased and enslaved. It may boast of its wealth and proudly shake its purse, but it will be vulgar and feeble. Like an individual, it will only command respect in proportion as it is self-relying. Nor can we appreciate the products of foreign genius without the requisite cultivation. Unless we understand their peculiar excellencies, unless we have the ability to analyze and dissect them, and to know why they are what they are, our admiration is little better than that of a savage or a clown. Abandon or discourage the study of any art, and the descent to vulgarity is speedy and certain. Besides, the works of all nations have a national stamp; they spring from races born in different climes, of different habits, laws, tastes, temperament,—not only of different religious creeds, but different religious feelings and outward forms of devotion: each is to the other foreign. One of the great beauties of our Service is the fitness and correspondence of all its parts. "The Bible and the Prayer-Book read as one,"—their language is of the same age, and the same venerable character is impressed on our best Cathedral music. Even all our best writers of modern times endeavour to preserve it. "Let us have new Church music," says Dr. Crotch, "but no new style; no-

"thing which recommends itself for its novelty, or reminds us of what we hear at the parade, the concert-room, or the theatre*,"

Hence the folly of introducing scraps of modern Masses, with all their gaudy attire and showy equipage, into Cathedrals. They have no agreement with, or relation to, the building or its purpose; they are of the earth—earthy, and to the earth they chain the hearer. His thoughts wander to their birth-place, the Opera-house; and music, instead of being a help to devotion, becomes its hindrance.

Much more might be said on this subject, but our limits warn us to conclude. We have endeavoured to show, as far as these would allow, what Cathedral Music was, what it is, and what it must be (if such a state can be said to be one of real existence), unless some timely remedy be applied. Be it remembered that no experimental legislation is necessary, no leap in the dark; we have simply to restore the foundations, and to obey the injunctions; to follow out the practice of our forefathers,—a practice of which experience has proved the inestimable value, and which the highest authorities in the Church have through succeeding generations combined to extol.

ARTICLE II.

1. *Marlowe's Dramatic Works*. London, 1818.
2. CALDERON: *Teatro Escogido*, Por DON EUGENIO DE OCHOA. Paris, 1838.
3. FAUST: *eine Tragödie*, von GÖTTE. Leipzig, 1843.

THE 'Faust' of Göthe is the greatest poem of modern times, and one of the greatest of any time. Throughout Europe it is studied, translated and criticised. The grave thinker, the flippant *feuilletoniste*, the idle dilettante, every one, grave or

* 'Lectures on Music,' p. 83.

gay, reads, has read, or will read it. It lies before all,—an eternal fascination, an eternal problem : it has charms for all tastes, food for all minds : it has melody and mystery, wit and wisdom, doubt and reverence, magic and buffoonery, pathos and irony ; there is not a chord of the poet's lyre unstrung, not a fibre of the reader's heart that does not vibrate. Students earnestly wrestling with doubt, eager to solve the riddle of life, feel their pulses beat as they contemplate the reflection of their struggles imaged in that poem ; Fausts themselves, they know the picture to be terribly real. Not they alone are fascinated, but all men. Heine says there is not a billiard-marker in all Germany that has not puzzled himself with a solution of Faust. This is true : go where you will, you cannot find a reader ignorant of 'Faust,' or one not fascinated by it.

Whence this strange and unexampled popularity ? It is a great poem, you will answer, full of beauty, wit and wisdom. True ; but these qualities do not secure universal popularity. The other works of Göthe possess them in an equal degree, but these works have not a tithe of the popularity of Faust ; they are read by the cultivated, admired by the many, carped at by a few ; but they are not European, they are not universal. Faust fascinates all Europe,—it is in the highest sense poetry for the million. Why ? Because in it, as in a mirror, we see reflected the eternal problem of our intellectual existence, and the varied lineaments of our social existence. It is at once a problem and a picture ;—the problem embracing questions of vital and universal importance ; the picture representing all classes, all sentiments, all opinions found in ordinary society. The great problem of life is stated in all its nudity ; the great picture of life is painted in all its variety.

We are not aware that any writer has hitherto insisted on the second portion of the above explanation ; yet this, as it seems to us, has been the more potent cause ; this has made the philosophical poem popular. In no single work of modern times is there to be found such a prodigality as in Faust. Almost every aspect of human life is briefly but strikingly presented ; almost every subject of human interest finds its expression in every possible variety of rhythm. This is indicated in the theatre-prologue—especially in these lines :—

“ Die Masse könnt ihr nur durch Masse zwingen
 Ein jeder sucht sich endlich selbst was aus.
 Wer Vieles bringt, wird manchem etwas bringen;
 Und jeder geht zufrieden aus dem Haus.”

Let us rapidly indicate the variety.

In the *Vorspiel* we have a poet, a manager and a merry-andrew, who may be said to represent the whole question of dramatic art, in its reference to poets, managers and the public. The poet, with his vague yearnings and unworldly aspirings, is opposed by the hard practical sense of the manager, and rightly opposed; for if the poet would delight mankind, he must leave all vague yearnings, and descend from the clouds to walk on this earth. The manager however, in the sole consideration of ‘receipts,’ is not the best judge of what will bring them; he therefore is corrected by the unbiassed criticism of the merry-andrew, who looks only to amusement. Admirable is merry-andrew’s reply to the poet’s ambitious appeal to posterity:—

“ Wer machte denn der Mitwelt Spass ? ”

Goethe here slyly laughs at those unhappy men, who, incapable of gaining admiration from the present, confidently anticipate that of the future.

This *Vorspiel* is a masterly production, containing more and deeper thought than any prose essay we have seen upon the Drama,—calmer wisdom, deeper insight, more perfect impartiality. Nowhere have we met with such excellent advice, nowhere such precision and concision: there is no consideration of importance omitted, there are no superfluous lines. Everything is thrown off with the utmost ease and with perfect clearness; profound thoughts are not uttered with a profound air; there is no framing and glazing of each idea, no flourish of trumpets, bidding you admire. It is no exaggeration to say, that the calm, clear, impartial insight of this prologue displays the author’s genius as distinctly as anything else in the work,—perhaps more distinctly. For it is in the treatment of these smaller matters that a great mind is best appreciated; a small mind always *overdoes* or *underdoes* such scenes, is either pompous or careless. Besides, in the heat of passion many an inferior mind becomes inspired; in the brood-

ing of meditation grand thoughts are, as it were, accidentally engendered. But in quiet scenes, when the mind is neither inflamed by passion nor moved by powerful thoughts, we may judge of it in its normal state. When the winds are furiously hurrying the waves, the shallowest river cannot be distinguished from the deepest; it is only when the winds are at rest and the waves are calm, that we can see the muddy bottom of the shallow stream, and learn how fathomless the deep.

The *Prologue in Heaven*, succeeding that of the Theatre, has been singularly misunderstood in many quarters. It has been called a parody of the Book of Job, and greatly censured as a parody. It has been stigmatized as utterly irrelevant and irreverent,—out of keeping with the rest of the poem and gratuitously blasphemous. Many translators have omitted it as ‘unfit for publication.’ Coleridge debated with himself “whether it became his *moral* character to render into English, and so far certainly lend his countenance to, language, “much of which he thought vulgar, licentious and blasphemous*.” This from a poet and critic! Not to perceive the meaning and character of this prologue is in our opinion greatly to misunderstand an essential element of the poem, viz. the legendary element. Madame de Staël says of the whole poem:—

“ Il serait véritablement trop naïf de supposer qu’un tel homme ne sache pas toutes les fautes de goût qu’on peut reprocher à sa pièce; mais il est curieux de connaître les motifs qui l’ont déterminé à les y laisser, ou plutôt à les y mettre.”

Now no one will suppose that Göthe’s intention in this prologue was blasphemous; what then was his intention? to us it appears clear enough.

The wager between Mephistopheles and the Deity was part and parcel of the legend; Göthe therefore preserved it. To explain his treatment of this prologue, we must refer the reader to the character of popular legends, or more especially to the character of the Miracle-plays which were performed all over Europe during the middle ages. In these Miracle-plays we meet with the coarsest buffoonery and the most startling blasphemy; things the most sacred are dragged

* Table Talk, vol. ii. p. 118.

through the dirt of popular wit; persons the most sacred are made the subjects of jests and stories which would cause the pious reader in these days to shudder. Yet the audiences did not regard these plays as blasphemous,—far from it; the plays were written by priests, performed by priests, and used for priestly purposes. Were they blasphemous? no, they were *naïve*. Popular imagination admits of no subtle metaphysical distinctions; popular legends are not philosophical in their treatment.

Göthe therefore, treating a legend of the middle ages, gave it the mediæval colouring. An inferior poet would assuredly have made the Prologue in Heaven as grand, and above all as metaphysical, as possible. Göthe intentionally made it *naïve*. We cannot suppose that he was unable to treat it otherwise, had he so willed it; but he did not will it so. Look at the tenor of the poem, and say what keeping would there have been in a prologue treated according to modern conceptions of the Deity and of Mephistopheles, and the remainder of the poem treated according to legendary beliefs: such scenes as 'Walpurgis Nacht,' 'Hexenküche,' 'Auerbach's Cellar,' and that of Mephistopheles' appearance as a poodle, would not have been in keeping with a metaphysical prologue.

The Prologue in Heaven is therefore just what it should be; it strikes the key-note; it opens the world of wonder and legendary belief, wherein we are to see transacted the great and mystic drama of life: it is treated in a legendary style, as the rest of the work is also treated. It is the threshold of a palace of art, at which you are bidden to put off your garments, soiled as they are with the dust of this work-day world; fairy garments are given in exchange; you enter a new region, and there the drama is acted before your eyes,—dream-like in form, terribly real in spirit.

There are two prologues to Faust, because there are two leading ideas to be worked out in the poem, because there are two aspects in which the poem will present itself to the reader. The world and the world's ways are to be pictured; the individual and the individual's struggles are to be portrayed. For the former we have the Prologue of the Theatre,—for the latter the Prologue in Heaven. The world has not a more fitting type than the stage; as various poets have clo-

quently told us. Where, but in heaven, can be performed the prologue to man's intellectual struggles, his doubts, his reverence and his despair?

This then is the double aspect of Faust: it may be regarded as a picture of the world, or it may be regarded as the struggles and experience of an individual. In the former, wider sense the Prologue of the Theatre is the proper prologue, introducing us to heaven as to one scene of life, in accordance with the manager's command to the poet, to wander from "heaven through the world to hell." In this view Henry Faust is but one figure in the drama of life. In the second view, the whole *dramatis personæ* are subordinate to him; they are there for his sake, to develop the phases of his existence. This second view is the one usually taken by critics; to us it appears that the double aspect is the right one. We continue, however, our indication of the various elements of which this wondrous drama is composed.

Faust is alone in his study. What student, pale with midnight toil, does not fill that study with his own thoughts, his own yearnings, his own despairs? How many Fausts have mused over that scene! How many will continue to muse over it! How many have felt, with Göthe's hero, the nothingness of knowledge, the illimitable sphere which man with limited faculties would embrace! And while musing on this the student, like Faust, turns his gaze upon the melancholy moon traversing in silence the mysterious heavens, looking down with cold pity, with pity not unallied to scorn, making him exclaim:—

“ Und fragst du noch warum dein Herz
Sich bang' in deinem Busen klemmt?
Warum ein unerklärter Schmerz
Dir alle Lebensregung hemmt?
Statt der lebendigen Natur,
Da Gott die Menschen schuf hinein,
Umgibt in Rauch und Moder nur
Dich Thiergeripp' und Todtenbein.”

Bitter lesson! From its bitterness who would not seek relief, like Faust, in supernatural agency? Who would not cast away his life, his hopes, his soul, rather than endure defeat, rather than die with the riddle unsolved? In the exaspe-

ration of despair who would not seek an outlet, "though hell itself might yawn before him"? Faust calls up a spirit; but it is not the spirit that he desires.

What a grave and curious aspect of life is shadowed out in this brief scene! The entrance of Wagner presents another aspect to our view. Wagner is a type of the *Philister* and Pedant. As Faust sacrifices himself to knowledge, so Wagner sacrifices himself to books. It is the letter he adores, and not the "o'er-informing spirit." Parchment is to him the holy fount of inspiration; the dust of folios is his element. He pursues learning not for its own sake, but for the consequence it may give him in the eyes of others. Wagnerism is a widespread evil; Faust himself is not without a taint of it, though of a nobler kind.

The scene changes. We have now every-day life and every-day joyousness, replacing the passionate earnestness and painful irony of the former scene. We are outside the city gates: it is Sunday; students and maid-servants, soldiers and shop-keepers are thronging out, on their way to the various suburban beer-houses which line the high-roads. Clouds of dust and smoke accompany the throng; joyous laughter, snatches of song, incipient flirtations and eager debates occupy the crowd. It is a true German picture. Life in its every-day aspects is made to stand out in significant clearness by a few brief touches; wonderful painting it is, and wonderfully appropriate in this place. We have just left Faust's study, where we witnessed the influence of life on one who fain would interpret its solemn significance; we are now ushered into the common streets, to witness life as it is accepted by the common mind. Faust spends his life in questioning; the people spend theirs in enjoyment. No question do they address, no riddles perplex their brains; the world to them is a familiarity, not a mystery. They are earnest about trifles, because those trifles are to them important, productive of pleasure.

Faust, the struggler, and Wagner, the pedant, come forth to gaze upon this scene of innocent enjoyment,—a scene whose influence sinks deep into Faust's soul, making him feel how much wiser the people are than he is,—for they enjoy.

"Hier ist des Volkes wahrer Himmel,
Zufrieden jauchzet gross und klein :
Hier bin ich Mensch, hier darf ich's seyn."

Wagner feels nothing of the kind ; he is there only because he wishes to be with Faust,—the pedant !

The people crowd around Faust and pay him reverence,—which Wagner envies, which Faust feels to be a mockery. Seating himself upon a stone, Faust gazes at the setting sun, and pours forth melancholy reflections on the worthlessness of life, on the inanity of his struggles, in lines most exquisite and musical. The pensive melancholy induced by the setting sun was never more melodiously expressed. We pass over the scenes of the introduction of Mephistopheles and of his compact with Faust, to arrive at the scene with the student. Here we have a youth fresh from his native province and about to enter on his university career : he has a general desire for study ; what he will study he has not yet decided on,—a satire on the carelessness with which men enter professions without any express vocation. The criticisms of Mephistopheles on the various sciences are worthy of the critic,—sarcastic, but true.

From this scene we are conducted to that in Auerbach's cellar, with its Aristophanic buffoonery. The life of the lower orders we saw reflected in the scene outside the gates ; we see here the life of wine-swilling sots. What a scene it is ! The cellar reeks with the fumes of bad wine and stale smoke : boisterous songs make its blackened arches ring again : the sots display themselves in all their sottishness. Enough of this scene ! Away, away to another scene as foul, as hideous, but less common,—to the Hexenküche ! In this den of sorcery Faust first beholds the vision of Margaret. He drinks of the witch's potion ; rejuvenescence is accompanied by desires hitherto unknown, and he is impelled onwards into the storm of life on the ocean of passion.

We are again led back to the real world. The simple Margaret returning from church is accosted by Faust. Then commences the exquisite episode of their love,—an episode which, for touching beauty and overpowering sadness, has no rival in poetry, no, not even in Shakspeare. We will venture

on no analysis, lest by our touch we should rob this lovely flower of its perfume. Let us only remark on the contrast between the simple purity of Margaret and the heartless worldliness of Martha, between the passion of Faust and the irony of Mephistopheles.

Again, in the brief scene between Bessy and Margaret, wherein the former laughs and triumphs over one of their companions who has been seduced, how completely does Göthe paint the state of opinion amongst women on the subject of seduction! Bessy says not a word against the seducer; her virtuous wrath falls solely on the victim, who has been "rightly served" in being deserted.

"For every woe a tear may claim
Except an erring sister's shame."

When Margaret timidly suggests that perhaps the seducer will marry the girl; Bessy ridicules the idea: "He would be a fool if he did! a brisk young fellow has the world before him." This is a cutting satire on women,—a deserved satire.

Then arrives Valentin, the brother of Margaret, a soldier proud of his sister, humiliated at learning her shame. "La souffrance qu'il éprouve," says Madame de Staël, "et dont il rougit, se trahit par un langage âpre et touchant à la fois. L'homme dur en apparence et sensible au fond de l'âme cause une émotion inattendue et poignante." Valentin sees Faust approach—hears him serenade Margaret—rushes upon him and is slain. The people crowd round him; his sister arrives to learn who has fallen; the crowd inform her that it is "her mother's son." Valentin then pours out upon her the bitterest reproaches: "plus terribles," says Madame de Staël, "et plus déchirants que jamais la langue policée n'en pourrait exprimer. La dignité de la tragédie ne saurait permettre d'enfoncer si avant les traits de la nature dans le cœur." A singular judgement! We may suggest in passing, that the magnificent description of the progress of Shame,

"Wenn erst die Schande wird geboren,"

is an imitation of Virgil's description of Rumour (*Æneid* iv. 176—190).

From this scene of bloodshed and horror we are led to the cathedral, where Margaret prays amidst the crowd,—the evil

spirit at her side. What a solemn, almost stifling sense of awe steals on the reader at this place! What a scene! In the place of refuge for the distressed sinner, Margaret finds nothing but despair. The crowd kneel in silence,—hear with comfort the words so dreadful to her; she alone of all the assembled crowd shudders at the

Dies iræ, dies illa,
Solvat sæclum in favilla!

and when the chorus bursts forth—

Judex ergo cum sedebit,
Quidquid latet apparebit,
Nil inultum remanebit—

she is nearly crushed with remorse, for the evil spirit at her side interprets these words in their most terrible sense. She swoons.

The witchery of Walpurgis Nacht succeeds, and is as different from that of the Hexenküche, as the scene in Auerbach's cellar was different from that without the city gates. It is no longer a display of sorcery; it is the opening of the land of dreams and magic. If the 'Faust' were a work of art resembling any other work of art, and to be tested by the principles applicable to other works, we should unhesitatingly pronounce the Walpurgis Nacht a blot on the construction; for the mind resents being snatched away from its deep interest in human passion to be plunged into the vagaries of the land of dreams,—resents the wilfulness of a poet, who, heedless of the interest he has roused, demands that his reader should no longer gaze upon the spectacle of human wretchedness, but with pulses trembling and with tearful eyes should follow him in his fantastic flight. After shuddering with Margaret we have no interest in the Blocksberg. But the "Faust" is a work *sui generis*; it resembles no other poem, it is not written on any known principles of composition, such as critics demand, and therefore is not amenable to the ordinary laws of criticism. 'Faust' must be judged according to its aim; if that aim be to give poetical form to an interesting story, Göthe has sadly bungled; fortunately such was not his aim. The unity in 'Faust' is not that of time, place or circumstance; it is the unity of conception. Critics

generally have been misled by this. Will it be credited that even Coleridge, who battled so frequently, so obstinately for a recognition of Shakspeare's art,—even Coleridge did not perceive the unity in the composition of 'Faust'? "There is no whole in the poem," said he; "the scenes are mere magic-lantern pictures, and a large part of the work is to me very flat*." Coleridge, it must be remembered, never liked *Goethe*, seldom read him, never spoke worthily of him: moreover this criticism is singularly superficial. When combating the French critics and proclaiming in philosophical language (slightly altered from *Schlegel*) that the unity of a work of art "is organic, not mechanic," Coleridge saw clearly enough that the ordinary objection to Shakspeare's unity, founded on his variety, was futile; how came he not to see that his own objection to the unity of 'Faust' was equally so? 'Faust' is no more a magic-lantern than 'Hamlet'; there is greater variety, and the changes are more abrupt than in 'Hamlet'; but this was because the purpose of the poem required them. The scenes of a magic-lantern have not only a want of connection with each other, but also a want of connection with any general idea; the scenes of 'Faust' have seldom any connection with each other, but they have all an intimate connection with the fundamental idea of the poem. This idea is the exhibition of various aspects of life. No two scenes are alike,—none are superfluous,—none are wanted to complete the picture: is this a magic-lantern?

Looked at with reference to the mode of composition of 'Faust,' with reference to its means and to its object, we cannot condemn the *Walpurgis Nacht*; we must rather applaud it, and point to it as reflecting another element of human life—the land of dreams and phantasies, from which even the vilest, even the most prosaic of us are not excluded.

In the succeeding scene we have Faust's remorse. Seduction has led to infanticide; infanticide has led to condemnation. Margaret is about to die an ignominious death, and for him. A triple murder is on his soul, and he despairs. Then in the scene that follows, what painting in six brief lines! Faust and Mephistopheles are riding over a wild and dreary plain; the sounds of carpenters at work upon the gibbet strike

* *Table Talk*, vol. ii. p. 114.

on the ear of Faust,—sounds of preparation for the execution of Margaret!

And now the final scene opens. Faust is in the dungeon where Margaret lies huddled on a bed of straw, singing wild snatches of ancient song, her reason gone, her end approaching. The terrible pathos of this interview draws tears into the eyes after twenty readings; we feel that death is a relief to the distracted girl, a lesson to the thoughtful Faust. As the passion of this interview grows to its climax, the grim passionless face of Mephistopheles appears, thus completing the irony that runs through the whole poem.

The first part closes here, and fitly. The second part, though inferior in interest, carries out the leading idea with equal ability. In the first part, Faust himself may be said to fill the scene,—in the second part, Society. The passions and the follies of individuals are portrayed in the first part; the passions and follies of the masses in the second. This is the principal cause of the inferiority in interest of the second part: it is didactic and satirical, instead of being passionate and dramatic. There is as much beauty and as much wisdom in it as in the first part; but the purpose is too general, too reflective, and the poem is too long.

In the survey we have just taken of the contents, the reader will have doubtless seen the real cause of Faust's popularity. No modern poem equals it in richness of material. It interests all readers because it reflects all classes,—touching on all subjects yet exhausting none; stimulating attention without fatiguing it*; showing us “the very age and body of our time, its form and pressure,” and showing it with so cunning a hand, yet with so careless an air, that we overlook the mastery of execution, and accept the picture as if it came from nature's own incomparable hand. It is not a poem to be fathomed at one reading—not at twenty—not indeed to be fathomed at all. The older we grow, the larger our experience, the deeper our meditations, the finer, greater, profounder shall we find this poem. This is true of Shakspeare, is true of all really great works. There are works that on

* We formerly noticed this as a peculiarity of Göthe's poetry and endeavoured to assign the cause. See No. XXVII., art. *Göthe*, p. 129.

a first acquaintance ravish us with delight; the ideas are new, valuable, intelligible; the execution is new, perhaps witching. We pronounce the work a masterpiece; we study it, learn it by heart, speak of it with enthusiasm. A few years pass and we wonder at our own enthusiasm, for we now think the work mediocre if not commonplace. There is no longer novelty in the ideas, perhaps no longer what we hold to be the truth; the execution gives no pleasure, for we are aware of its trick, we see the method by which it is composed,—we are disenchanted. The work then was no masterpiece? Not in the least. A masterpiece excites no such sudden enthusiasm; it requires to be studied much and long; it requires that we should grow to a comprehension of it, for it will not at once descend to us. The delight it inspires is less sudden, but more lasting:—

“Age cannot wither it, nor custom stale
Its infinite variety.”

We never become disenchanted; we discover no trick, for there is none. Who was ever tired of Shakspeare, or of Beethoven, or of Mozart, or of Raphael, or of Titian? When the novelty which captivated us in the inferior work has worn off, when the thoughts which seemed so subtle and profound have become our own, then there is nothing wherewith to stimulate admiration; and thus do we frequently in the course of a lifetime remove with contempt from our Pantheon the gods whom in youth we placed there in adoration. Thus we begin life with Schiller, and end it with Göthe.

What we have just said will account for the disappointment generally felt on the first perusal of ‘Faust.’ A poem so applauded, so universally known, is approached with certain preconceptions, which of course are not realized; hence disappointment. Indeed, we should say that disappointment was inevitable on the first sight of a masterpiece; if it had been what *we* could prefigure, would it have been a masterpiece? assuredly not: its very originality therefore unsettles us, puts our ordinary conclusions to rout. Sir Joshua Reynolds, on his first visit to the Vatican, could not conceal his mortification at not relishing the works of Raphael,—a mortification which was only relieved by his finding that others

had experienced the same. "The truth is," he justly adds, "that if these works had really been what I expected, they "would have contained beauties superficial and alluring, but "by no means such as would have entitled them to their great "reputation." We must not be surprized therefore if even eminent men have spoken disrespectfully of 'Faust.' Coleridge we know did so; Lamb thought it a vulgar melodrama in comparison with Marlowe's 'Faustus.'

'Faust' is popular, because it contains all the elements of popularity; it will always be popular, because it is a masterpiece. The interest of the legend, great as that is, and eminently calculated as it is to excite curious and lasting speculation, would alone suffice to make the work popular, as the various attempts of Marlowe, Calderon, Klingemann, Müller, Lenau and others abundantly manifest. Two of these attempts, those namely by Marlowe and Calderon, we shall here examine; they will afford us materials for a comparison of the state of opinion and the works of art produced thereby, in England, Spain and Germany at different epochs. Our analysis may afford amusement, even should it fail of throwing light upon the history of literature.

The 'Doctor Faustus' of Christopher Marlowe has been prodigiously admired by some lovers of the early drama. We cannot share this admiration. In spite of many magnificent lines, such as Marlowe—

"Whose living spirit stood
Up to the chin in the Pierian flood,"

delighted to utter, the piece as a whole is wearisome, vulgar and ill-conceived. The lowest buffoonery, destitute of wit and taste, fills up a large portion of the play; and the serious scenes are defaced by an utter want of dramatic evolution of character. The melancholy figure of Mephistopholis is grand, but misplaced: he is not the Tempter, according to the common notion of Satan, creeping to his purpose with the cunning of a snake: he is not the cold, impassive, ironical "Spirit that denies" of Göthe: he is more like the metaphysical, melancholy Satan of Byron, with a touch of piety and a great deal of repentance. His language is such as to frighten Faustus instead of seducing him.

" *Faust*. Did not my conjuring raise thee? speak!

Meph. That was the cause, but yet *per accidens*;

For when we hear one racke the name of God,

Abjure the Scriptures and his Saviour Christ,

We fly, in hope to get his glorious soul:

Nor will we come unless he use such means,

Whereby he is in danger to be damn'd.

Therefore the shortest cut for conjuring

Is stoutly to abjure all godliness,

And pray devoutly to the Prince of Hell.

Faust. So Faustus hath already done, and holds this principle,

There is no chief but only Belzebub;

To whom Faustus doth dedicate himself.

This word damnation terrifies not me,

For I confound hell in elysium;

My ghost be with the old philosophers.

But, leaving these vain trifles of men's souls,

Tell me, what is that Lucifer thy lord?

Meph. Arch-regent and commander of all spirits.

Faust. Was not that Lucifer an angel once?

Meph. Yes, Faustus, and most dearly loved of God.

Faust. How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?

Meph. Oh! by aspiring pride and insolence,

For which God threw him from the face of heaven.

Faust. And what are you that live with Lucifer?

Meph. Unhappy spirits, that live with Lucifer,

Conspired against our God with Lucifer,

And are for ever damn'd with Lucifer.

Faust. Where are you damn'd?

Meph. In hell.

Faust. How comes it, then, that thou art out of hell?

Meph. Why, this is hell, nor am I out of it.

Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God,

And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,

Am not tormented with ten thousand hells,

In being deprived of everlasting bliss?

Oh, Faustus! leave these frivolous demands,

Which strike a terror to my fainting heart."

Is this the language of the Tempter?—is it even the language of the fallen Lucifer? It is the language of the poet, interpreting what the audience would feel in Satan's place, not what Satan feels. This want of character-painting is felt throughout the play.

But we have rather to deal with the philosophical than with the dramatic treatment of the subject. The reader who,

misled by critics, opens 'Faustus' under the impression that he is about to see a philosophical subject treated philosophically, will have mistaken both the character of Marlowe's genius and of Marlowe's epoch. 'Faustus' is no more philosophical in intention than the 'Jew of Malta,' or 'Tamburlaine the Great.' It is simply the theatrical treatment of a popular legend,—a legend admirably characteristic of the spirit of those ages in which men, believing in the agency of the devil, would willingly have bartered their future existence for the satisfaction of present desires. This undoubtedly contains a philosophical problem, which even in the present day is constantly presenting itself to the speculative mind. Yes, even in the present day, since human nature does not change: forms only change, the spirit remains; nothing perishes,—everything manifests itself differently. Men, it is true, no longer believe in the devil's agency; at least they no longer believe in the power of calling up the devil and transacting business with him; otherwise there would be hundreds of such stories as that of Faust. But the spirit which created that story and rendered it credible to all Europe remains unchanged. The sacrifice of the future to the present is the spirit of that legend. The blindness to consequences caused by the imperiousness of desire; the recklessness with which inevitable and terrible results are braved in perfect consciousness of their being inevitable, provided that a temporary pleasure can be obtained, is the spirit which dictated Faust's barter of his soul, which daily dictates the barter of men's souls. We do not make compacts, but we throw away our lives; we have no Tempter face to face with us, offering illimitable power in exchange for our futurity; but we have our own desires, imperious, insidious; and for them we barter our existence,—for one moment's pleasure we risk years of anguish, and we call ourselves rational beings!

The story of Faustus suggests many modes of philosophical treatment, but Marlowe has not availed himself of any: he has taken the popular view of the legend, and given his hero the vulgarest motives. This is not meant as a criticism, but as a statement. We are not sure that Marlowe was wrong in so treating his subject; only we are sure that he treated it so. Faustus is disappointed with logic, because it teaches

him nothing but debate,—with physic, because he cannot with it bring dead men back to life,—with law, because it concerns only the ‘external trash’,—and with divinity, because it teaches that the reward of sin is death, and that we are all sinners. Seeing advantage in none of these studies he takes to necromancy; there he finds content; and how?

“*Faust.* How am I glutt with conceit of this!
Shall I make spirits fetch me what I please?
Resolve me of all ambiguities?
Perform what desperate enterprize I will?
I’ll have them fly to India for gold,
Ransack the ocean for orient pearl,
And search all corners of the new-found world
For pleasant fruits and princely delicates.
I’ll have them read me strange philosophy;
And tell the secrets of all foreign kings:
I’ll have them wall all Germany with brass,
And make swift Rhine circle fair Wittenberg:
I’ll have them fill the public schools with skill,
Wherewith the students shall be bravely clad:
I’ll levy soldiers with the coin they bring,
And chase the prince of Parma from our land,
And reign sole king of all the provinces:
Yea, stranger engines for the brunt of war,
Than was the fiery keel at Antwerp bridge,
I’ll make my servile spirits to invent.”

There seems something trivial in this to modern apprehensions, yet Marlowe’s audience sympathized with nothing nigher. It was the age when witches were burned, when men were commonly supposed to hold communication with infernal spirits, when the price of damnation was present enjoyment. Therefore does Marlowe make his hero say:—

“Go, bear these tidings to great Lucifer;
Seeing Faustus hath incurr’d eternal death,
By desperate thoughts against Jove’s deity,
Say he surrenders up to him his soul,
So he will spare him four and twenty years,
Letting him live in all voluptuousness,
Having thee ever to attend on me,
To give me whatsoever I shall ask,
To tell me whatsoever I demand,
To slay mine enemies, and to aid my friends,
And always be obedient to my will.
Go, and return to mighty Lucifer;

And meet me in my study at midnight,
And then resolve me of thy master's mind.

Meph. I will, Faustus.

[*Exit.*

Faust. Had I as many souls as there be stars,
I'd give them all for Mephostophilis.
By him I'll be great emperor of the world,
And make a bridge through the moving air,
To pass the ocean with a band of men;
I'll join the hills that bind the Afric shore,
And make that country continent to Spain,
And both contributory to my crown.
The emperor shall not live but by my leave,
Nor any potentate of Germany,
Now that I have obtain'd what I desired."

The compact signed, Faustus makes use of his power by scampering over the world and performing practical jokes and vulgar incantations,—knocking down the Pope, making horns sprout on the heads of noblemen, cheating a jockey by selling him a horse of straw, and other equally vulgar tricks, which were just the things the audience would have done had they possessed the power. Tired of his buffooneries he calls up the vision of Helen; his rapture at the sight is worth quoting, as a specimen of how Marlowe can write on a fitting occasion.

Enter HELEN again, passing between two Cupids.

"*Faust.* Was this the face that launch'd a thousand ships,
And burnt the topmost towers of Ilium?
Sweet Helen, make me immortal with a kiss!
Her lips suck forth my soul! see where it flies!
Come, Helen, come, give me my soul again.
Here will I dwell, for heaven is in these lips,
And all is dross that is not Helena.
I will be Paris, and for love of thee,
Instead of Troy shall Wittenberg be sack'd;
And I will combat with weak Menelaus,
And wear thy colours on my plumed crest:
Yea, I will wound Achilles in the heel,
And then return to Helen for a kiss.
Oh! thou art fairer than the evening air,
Clad in the beauty of a thousand stars;
Brighter art thou than flaming Jupiter,
When he appear'd to hapless Semele;
More lovely than the monarch of the sky,
In wanton Arethusa's azure arms;
And none but thou shalt be my paramour!"

His last hour now arrives: he is smitten with remorse, like many of his modern imitators, when it is too late; sated with his power he now shudders at the price. After some tragical raving, and powerfully depicted despair, he is carried off by devils. The close is in keeping with the commencement: Faustus is damned because he made the compact. Each part of the bargain is fulfilled; it is a tale of sorcery, and Faustus meets the fate of a sorcerer.

The vulgar conception of this play is equally the fault of Marlowe and of his age. It might have been treated quite in conformity with the general belief; it might have been a tale of sorcery, yet have been made ten times as impressive. What would not Shakspeare have made of it? Nevertheless, we must in justice to Marlowe look also to the state of opinion in his time; and we shall then admit that another and higher mode of treatment would perhaps have been less acceptable to the audience. Had it been metaphysical, they would not have understood it; had the motives of Faustus been more elevated, the audience would not have believed them. To have saved him at last, would have been to violate the legend, and to outrage their moral sense. For, why should the black arts be unpunished? why should not the sorcerer be damned? The legend was understood in its literal sense, in perfect accordance with the credulity of the audience: the symbolical significance of the legend is entirely a modern creation.

Let us now turn to Calderon's 'EL MAGICO PRODIGIOSO,' so often said to have furnished Göthe with the leading idea of his 'Faust.' Calderon furnish Göthe with a leading idea! We shall hear next that 'Don Quixote' is the original of 'Pickwick.' Of all charges made in the literary world, no charge is made more carelessly than that of plagiarism. Rival editors of classical works did not more readily accuse each other of being ignorant of Greek or Latin, than critics accuse poets of plagiarism. Every Dennis shouts "That's my thunder!" at each resemblance, however faint; nay, does not content himself with claiming his own property, but is as ready to exclaim "That's my friend's thunder!" As an example of resolute, reckless assertion, unabashed by ignorance of the subject, take the following statement of a recent writer:—"This drama (*El "Magico)* is the one upon which Gothe [*sic*] founded his 'Faust.'

"It is curious how *exactly similar are the incidents*. The originals of 'Faust' which certain of our contemporaries have vainly sought, *might be comprised* in this one poem, which is not much inferior in poetical merit and picturesque details to the German masterpiece any more than in grace and beauty." This assertion is positive enough to carry conviction to the mind of the unwary reader; but it is an assertion which bears internal evidence of its having proceeded from one who had never read 'Faust,' who cannot even spell correctly the name of Faust's author, and who apparently thinks with carelessness, as he writes with slovenliness. 'Faust' does *not* resemble 'El Magico' in plot, incidents, situations, characters, or in ideas. The 'Faustus' of Marlowe has a certain superficial resemblance to the 'Faust' of Göthe, because the same legend is adopted in both; but in 'El Magico' the legend is altogether different, and the treatment different. The critic above quoted is not however alone in his opinion; many have said as much before,—many will say as much hereafter. Our readers will learn from the following analysis how much confidence there is to be placed in such charges of imitation and plagiarism. Calderon's latest editor, Don Eugenio de Ochoa, is quite puzzled to conceive how the notion of resemblance got into circulation, and gravely declares that it is *enteramente infundada*.

The scene lies in the neighbourhood of Antioch, where, with "glorious festival and song," a temple is being consecrated to Jupiter. Cyprian, a young student, perplexing himself with the dogmas of his religion (polytheism), has retired from the turmoil of the town to enjoy himself in quiet study. Pliny's definition of God is unsatisfactory, and Cyprian is determined on finding a better. A rustling amongst the leaves disturbs him, caused by the demon, who appears in the dress of a cavalier. They commence an argument, Cyprian pointing out the errors of polytheism, the demon maintaining its truth. We see that Cyprian has been converted to monotheism,—a step towards his conversion to Christianity; and this conversion operated by the mere force of truth, this change of opinion resulting from an examination of polytheism, was doubtless flattering to Calderon's audience,—a flattery carried to its acmé

in the feeble defence of the demon, who on his entrance declares, aside, that Cyprian shall never find the truth. Righteous Catholic poet! Calderon would not let the devil have the best of the argument even for a moment. Instead of the "spirit that denies," he presents us with a malignant fiend, as impotent as he is malignant,—a fiend who acknowledges himself worsted in the argument, and who resolves to conquer by lust the student whom he cannot delude by sophisms. He has power given him to wage enmity against Justina's soul; he will make Justina captivate Cyprian and with one blow effect two vengeance. We need no words to point out the dissimilarity between such a fiend and the fiend Mephistopheles.

Cyprian is left alone to study, but is again interrupted by the quarrel of Lelio and Floro, two of his friends, who, both enamoured of Justina, have resolved to decide their rivalry by the sword. Cyprian parts them, and consents to become arbiter. He then undertakes to visit Justina, in order to ascertain to whom she gives the preference. In this visit he falls in love with her himself. There is an underplot in which Moscon, Clarin and Libia, according to the usual style of Spanish comedies, parody the actions and sentiments of their masters; but we omit it, as well as the other scenes which do not bear on the question we are examining in this paper.

Justina, a recent convert to Christianity, is the type of Christian innocence. She rejects Cyprian's love, as she had rejected that of her former admirers. This coldness exasperates him:—

" So beautiful she was—and I,
Between my love and jealousy,
Am so convulsed with hope and fear,
Unworthy as it may appear,—
So bitter is the life I live
That, hear me, Hell! I now would give
To thy most detested spirit
My soul, for ever to inherit,
To suffer punishment and pine,
So this woman may be mine.
Hear'st thou, Hell? Dost thou reject it?
My soul is offered.

DEMON (*unseen*).

I accept it!"

(Tempest, with thunder and lightning.)

We adopt Shelley's version. In another writer we might pause to remark on the "want of keeping" in making a polytheist address such a prayer to hell; but Calderon is too full of such things to cause surprize at any individual fault. The storm rages,—a ship goes down at sea; the demon enters as a shipwrecked passenger, and says aside:—

"It was essential to my purposes
To wake a tumult on the sapphire ocean,
That in this unknown form I might at length
Wipe out the blot of the discomfiture
Sustained upon the mountain, and assail
With a new war the soul of Cyprian,
Forging the instruments of his destruction
Even from his love and from his wisdom."

Cyprian addresses words of comfort to him on his misfortune; the demon says it is in vain to hope for comfort, since all is lost that gave life value. He then tells his story; describing, by means of a very transparent equivocation, through which the audience easily saw, the history of his rebellion in heaven and his chastisement. In the course of his narrative he insinuates his power of magic, hoping to awaken in Cyprian's breast a love of the art. Cyprian offers him the hospitality due to a stranger, and they quit the scene.

In their next scene the demon asks Cyprian the reason of his constant melancholy. This is an opportunity for the display of fustian, never let slip by a Spanish dramatist. Cyprian describes his mistress and his passion for her with the volubility of a lover, with the taste of an Ossian. He very circumstantially informs the demon that the "*partes que componen a esta divina muger*"—the charms which adorn this paragon—are the charms of Aurora, of fleecy clouds and pearly dews, of balmy gales and early roses, of meandering rivulets and glittering stars, of warbling birds and crystal rocks, of laurels and of sunbeams; and so forth through the space of more than fifty lines, in a style to captivate magazine poets

and to make sane readers yawn. Having described her, he declares that he is so entranced with this creature as to have entirely forsaken philosophy; he is willing to give away his soul for her. The demon accepts the offer, splits open a rock and shows Justina reclining asleep. Cyprian rushes towards her, but the rock closes again, and the demon demands that the compact shall be signed before the maiden is delivered. Cyprian draws blood from his arm, and with his dagger writes the agreement on some linen. The demon then consents to instruct him in magic, by which, at the expiration of one year, he will be able to possess Justina.

This temptation-scene is very trivial,—feeble in conception and bungling in execution. We may remark the gross want of artistic keeping in it. Cyprian had before addressed a vow to hell that he would give his soul for Justina; the demon answered, "I accept it!" Thunder and lightning followed,—effective enough as a melodramatic *coup de théâtre*, utterly useless to the play; for although the demon appears, it is not to make a compact with Cyprian, it is not even to tempt him; it is simply to become acquainted with him, gain his confidence, and *afterwards* tempt him. The time elapses, and the demon then tempts Cyprian as we have seen. How poor, feeble, and staggering these outlines! How unlike a work of art this play! What makes the feebleness of this scene stand out still more clearly, is the gross and senseless parody which Clarin the *gracioso* indulges in. Like his master he too is in love, like his master he offers to sell his soul to the demon, and strikes his nose, that with the blood he may write the compact on his handkerchief.

It is in this temptation-scene, however, that the single point of resemblance occurs between the plays of Calderon and Göthe. It is extremely slight, as every one will observe; but slight as it is, the critics have made it the basis of their notion of plagiarism. The compact is the point which the legend of St. Cyprian and the legend of Faust have in common; this is why we have selected Calderon's play. In all other respects the legends differ and the poems differ. It is curious however to compare the motives of the three heroes, Faustus, Cyprian and Faust; to compare what each demands in re-

turn for his soul; and in this comparison Calderon "shows least bravely"; his hero is the most pitiful of the three.

To return to our analysis. The year's probation has expired and Cyprian is impatient for his reward. He has learned the arts of necromancy, in which he is almost as proficient as his master; boasts of being able to call the dead from out their graves, and of possessing many other equally wonderful powers. Yet with this science he does nothing, attempts nothing. Of what use then was the year's probation? of what use this necromantic proficiency? Had the question been put to Calderon he would probably have smiled and answered, "to prolong the play and give it variety,"—a sensible answer from a rapid playwright, but which ill accords with the modern notion of his being a profound artist. Perhaps it is too much to expect that a man who wrote between one and two hundred plays should have produced one that could be regarded as a work of art; nor should we have judged him by any higher standard than that of a rapid and effective playwright, had not the Germans written such a quantity of extravagantly laudatory criticism, which the English, who seldom read the poet, take for granted must be just.

The demon calls upon the spirits of hell to instil into Justina's mind impure thoughts, so that she may incline to Cyprian. But this could have been done at first, and so have spared Cyprian his year's probation and his necromantic studies,—studies which are never brought to bear upon Justina herself, though undertaken expressly for her conquest. Justina enters in a state of violent agitation: we extract a portion of the scene, as a specimen. The play not being in the hands of the general reader, our extract, though rather long, will be welcome. We avail ourselves of the translation of this scene which appeared in the 'Monthly Chronicle,' vi. p. 346.

"*Just.* Thou, melancholy! which in me [*Agitated.*
Fluttering risest sad and sweet,
When surrender'd I to thee,—
Leave my languid heart to treat
With such hateful tyranny!
Tell me what tumultuous power
Wildly doth my being move—
Kindling, lulling more and more?

And this glow why feels my heart ?
Say, what causes now the smart
Of this anguish ?

Chorus. Love—O Love !

Just. 'Tis yon lovelorn nightingale [*More calm.*

That gives me the reply,
Telling ever his soft tale
To the listeners in the vale
Of passion and of constancy ;
Mourning still his gentle heat
In melody,—ah me, how sweet !
Whilst his mate, who, rapt and fond,
Listening sits a bough beyond,
Makes divine response meet.
Cease, O cease, sweet Philomel !
That not by so deep a charm
Thoughts within my soul may swell,
That a manly heart would tell
If a bird can feel so warm.
No, it was yon vinetree's song,
That, still longing, seeks and flies,
Till it doth, the flowers among,
All the stem-beloved throng,
And the green trunk vanquish'd lies,
Vine, no more with green embraces
Make me think on what thou lovest ;
For thy tendril interlaces
But to teach, I fear, thou sophist !
Arms will twine too, nor dis sever ;
And, if not the tender vine
That still tries with fond endeavour
With yon elm to intertwine,
'Tis yon bright sunflower, that ever
Charmed by the orb's decline,
Wanders after every glimmer
Of his countenance divine.
Sun-enamoured thing ! obscure
From mine eye those beams that slant it ;
Dost thou still insatiate lure,
Check to cheek, thy paramour,
Ever-moving, light enchanted !
Hide, O flower, the amorous glowing
Of thy beauty,—tranquil foe !
To my treacherous heart avowing,
If such tears from leaves are flowing,
How from eyes the tears would flow !
Loose, O vine, thy wreathed bower !
Silence, songster of the grove !

Rest, thou light inconstant flower !
Or tell me the poisonous power
Of your magic.

Chorus. Love—O Love !

Just. Love ! Ah, when did I respect it ?
Or, thou false one ! homage plan ?
Ever have I not neglected,
With disdain and scorn rejected,
Lelius, Florus, Cyprian ?

*[Pauses at the name of CYPRIAN, and
seems again disquieted.]*

Lelio did not I disband,
And refuse young Florus' hand ?
Cyprian treated with such scorn,
That, despairing and forlorn,
He for ever disappears ?
But, alas ! I deem that now
Is the occasion whence these tears
Venture boldly to avow
What inspires me with those fears,
Since to mine own soul apart
I pronounced that, in that hour,
Cyprian did for ever part,—
Feel I (woe is me !) a power
Raging in my burning heart.
Ah, it must be pity when *[Calm again.]*
Such a man, so high renown'd,
By the whole world's voices crown'd
Noblest of all noblemen,
From my heartless scorn hath drown'd
In oblivion his great mind.
But, we're in compassion blind, *[Again agitated.]*
I the like had felt towards
Lelius' or young Florus' mind,
Since in bonds both are confined,
For my sake, by tyrant guards.
Then, ye wandering fancies, cease !
Enough, without this subtlety,
'Tis that pity to increase,
Nor my soul to love compel ;
For I know not, woe is me ! *[More calm.]*
Where to find him now, should I
Through the wide world to him fly.

The DÆMON enters.

Dæm. Come, oh come, and I will tell !

Just. What art thou, who thus athwart
This my chamber find'st thy way,
When no bars asunder part ?

Say if thou a phantom art,
Formed by terror and dismay?

Dæm. No; but one call'd by the thought
That now rules, with tyrant sway,
O'er thy faltering heart,—a man
Whom compassion hither brought,
That he might point out the way
Whither fled thy Cyprian.

Just. And so shalt thou fail. This storm
Which afflicts my frenzied soul
May imagination form
To its wish, but ne'er shall warm
Reason to its mad controul.

Dæm. If thou hast the thought permitted,
Half the sin is almost done!
Wilt thou, since 't is all committed,
Linger ere the joy be won?

Just. In our power abides not thought
(Thought, alas! how vain to fly);
But the deed is, and 't is one
That we sin in mind have sought,
And another to have done:
I'll not move my foot to try.

Dæm. If a mortal power assail
Justina with all its might,
Say will not the victory fail
When thy wish will not avail,
But inclines thee in despite?

Just. By opposing to thee now
My free will and liberty.

Dæm. To my power they soon shall bow.

Just. If it could such power avow,
Would our free will then be free?

Dæm. Come, 't is bliss that thou wilt prove.

Just. Dearly would I gain it so.

Dæm. It is peace, and calm, and love.

[*Draws, but cannot
move her.*]

Just. It is misery, death, despair!

Dæm. Heavenly joy!

Just. 'T is bitter woe!

Dæm. Lost and shamed, forsaken one!

Who in thy defence shall dare?

Just. My defence is God alone.

Dæm. Virgin, virgin, thou hast won!" [*Loosens his hold.*]

How delighted must the audience have been at this victory
over the demon, by the mere announcement of a faith in God!
Unable to give Cyprian the real Justina, the demon deter-

mines on deceiving him with a phantom. A figure enveloped in a cloak appears, and bids Cyprian follow. He enters on the next scene with the fancied Justina in his arms. In his transport he takes off the cloak, and instead of Justina discovers a Skeleton, who replies to his exclamation of horror:—

“ Así, Cipriano, son
Todas las glorias del mundo !”

“ Such are the glories of this world,”—a truly Catholic sentiment! In this terrific situation we recognize Calderon the inquisitor and Calderon the playwright, but Calderon the artist we do not recognize. As a piece of stage effect this skeleton is powerfully conceived; as a religious warning it is equally powerful; as art it is detestable. It is a fine situation, though he has used it twice elsewhere; but the consistency of the play is violated by it. If the demon wished to seduce Cyprian, would he have attempted to do so by *such* means? No. But Calderon here, as elsewhere, sacrifices everything to a *coup de théâtre*: is this the style of an artist?

Cyprian, exasperated at the deception, demands an explanation. The demon confesses that he is unable to force Justina, as she is under the protection of a superior power. Cyprian asks who that power is. The demon hesitates, but is at length obliged to own that it is the God of the Christians. Cyprian seeing that God protects those who believe in him, refuses to own allegiance to any other. The demon is furious and demands Cyprian's soul, who contends that the demon has not fulfilled his share of the compact. Words run high: Cyprian draws his sword and stabs the demon, of course without avail,—another stage effect. The demon drags him away, but like Justina he calls God to his aid, and the demon rushes off discomfited. How distinctly is the Catholic visible throughout this scene!

Cyprian becomes a Christian, and Justina assures him of his salvation in spite of his sins, for—

..... “ no tiene
Tantas estrellas el cielo,
Tantas arenas el mar,
Tantas centellas el fuego,
Tantos átomos el día,
Como él perdona pecados.”

Justina and Cyprian are condemned as heretics and burned at Antioch, martyrs of the Christian faith. It is very indicative of the epoch at which this play was written, that the piece closes with the appearance of the demon, riding through the air mounted on a serpent. He addresses the spectators, and tells them that God has forced him to declare the innocence of Justina, and the freedom of Cyprian from his rash engagement; both now repose in the realm of the blessed. Charming *naïveté* of early times!

A work more unlike Göthe's 'Faust' in plot, tendency or execution does not exist on the same subject. 'El Magico Prodigioso' is clearly an illustration of the Catholic faith, not a philosophical view of life. Don Ochoa says that Calderon has resumed in four verses the whole idea, so profoundly Christian, which he has developed in the play; these are the verses:—

“ A saber llevo
Que sin el gran Dios que busco,
Que adoro y que reverencio,
Las humanas glorias son
Polvo, humo, ceniza y viento.”

In other words, that without God men are ashes, and all earthly glories empty sounds,—a Catholic idea certainly, which Calderon has “*explicada con una brillantez de síntesis teológica, mas propia de un auto sacramental.*” Pious the play unquestionably is, but is it philosophical?

Many Germans, with Schlegel at their head, will discourse by the hour on the philosophy of Calderon; you listen to their eloquence and—yawn. Calderon having been considered a consummate artist, could certainly be considered a profound philosopher: the principles upon which the one conclusion was based would amply support the other: those are the much-talked-of “*romantic principles.*” Let no one ask what the word romantic means; meaning was not the thing wanted; a name was wanted, and a name was found. This name was both flattering to the ear, and destitute of precision,—vague enough to include any meaning within it, yet familiar enough to prevent objection or examination. The discovery of this *sesame* which is to open the caverns of obscurity and to throw sunlight upon all works of art, is due to that showy rhetorician

and shallow thinker who never discovered anything else. We wish our Teutonic friends joy of the possession. For our own readers we trust a dissertation on Calderon's philosophy would be superfluous; enough if we show how, in the nature of things, it is impossible that his works should contain anything at all approaching what we call philosophy.

Philosophy is obviously distinct from religion; especially from the Catholic religion, which interdicts examination, which is above the test of reason; examination being the vital principle of all philosophy, and reason the only test. Moreover, it is obvious that a poet who with pious devotion accepts all the dogmas of his church, and employs his genius in illustrating these dogmas by stories, legends, lyrics or reflective poems—*illustrating*, not *interpreting*—making their moral meanings stand out so as to be clearly apprehended by the people, not unfolding new and deeper meanings from those dogmas—a poet who does this may be very pious, very earnest, very influential, but certainly is not philosophical. When Tennyson says,—

“The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world,”—

he philosophizes; when Calderon tells us that without God all earthly glories are but vapours, he dogmatizes,—as he does all through his works. There are many dogmas illustrated by him—nothing new propounded. He presents the moral strikingly; he does not add a new and deeper meaning to it. How could he add to what the Church had settled? was he not a Catholic,—was he not an inquisitor? The nature of his religion forbade questioning, and forbade new interpretations of its dogmas; the nature of his office forbade the promulgation of anything new. As a Catholic he forbore to question,—as an inquisitor he would have punished the questions of others.

But to our more immediate purpose. ‘Doctor Faustus’ we saw completely indicative of popular opinion, of popular prejudice. The ambitious hope of wresting from nature the secret of her ongoings, a secret which would make the possessor more than man,—the despair consequent on failure,—the readiness with which any means, however awful, were

accepted, and any consequences, however inevitable, were braved, by men under such despair,—the tampering with infernal powers,—the dreadful compact and the dreadful penalty,—all these things are clearly enough exhibited in Marlowe's work, which is insofar a picture of Marlowe's age. In that age, as Marmier remarks*, the people believed in two powers regulating mundane affairs—a good and an evil; they therefore attributed everything to heaven or to hell. If a man was generous or heroic, the inspiration came from heaven; if he was base and wicked, the devil had seduced him. Both heaven and hell had their ministrants on earth,—subordinate officers in the shape of angels and demons, or of good and evil fairies. In the absence of all real science, moral or physical, everything was of course referred to these two powers of heaven and hell. The people called upon God at all times, as upon the source of all beneficence, and shuddered at and execrated the name of Satan as the source of all evil; having pictured him black and hideous, with horns, cloven feet, an enormous mouth vomiting flames and smoke, they frightened themselves with the image they had made, and their very terror made the image constantly present to their minds. Thus living between two opposite agencies, encountering them every day, in their recreations, in their prayers and in their occupations, familiarized with their images and implicitly believing in their power, the people learned to attribute everything to one or the other. If a man fasted, prayed, flagellated himself, covered his head with ashes and his body with sackcloth, he was beloved of God, he was a saint, he cured diseases, warded off plagues, performed miracles. If a man was given to study, fond of experimenting, absorbed in his thoughts so much as to pass the priests in the street without saluting them, seldom entered a church, was never seen to pray, was solitary and wise, knew the virtues of certain herbs and metals, could perform experiments which then were wonders, he was pronounced a sorcerer, one in league with Satan: all crimes were imputed to him, all diseases were caused by him; if there was a thunderstorm, it was he who raised it; if there was a plague, it was

* *Études sur Goethe*, p. 64.

he who introduced it ; if people were poisoned, he had made the poison ; if a cow died, it was because he had looked upon it. Thus he became a popular bugbear ; his name soon found itself in ballads and legends ; a history of his life, crimes, and fearful end was quickly framed and circulated. This story travelled all over the country ; sometimes all over Europe. It became a legend, transmitted from generation to generation : old women crossed themselves when they heard the name of the sorcerer ; old men drew their children and grandchildren round them, and related to their eager, breathless, shuddering hearers, the minutest circumstances of the sorcerer's life, with an impressive warning derived from his dreadful end. Round the winter-fire, or outside the door on summer eves, old and young collected to hear and shudder at a legend they had heard and shuddered at a hundred times. The people in those times listened greedily to any tale of magic and enchantment, which had for them all the charm of the marvellous and all the power of reality ; their implicit faith gave an intensity to their enjoyment which we cannot appreciate, except by casting ourselves back again into the credulous period of childhood.

In ' *El Magico Prodigioso* ' we have a state of opinion somewhat similar, but modified by the Catholic tendency of the play. Calderon had to exhibit not only the malignancy of Satan, but his utter insignificance when opposed to one guarded by the impenetrable shield of Christian faith ; he had also to exhibit the weakness of polytheism, the strength and beatitude of Christianity,—the errors both of intellect and passion which await the man not sustained by the truth and purity of Christianity, and the sudden strength, rectitude and joyfulness which he acquires directly he believes. The whole play is but an exhibition of the triumph of Christianity. Like that of Marlowe, it contains a certain amount of truth, at least of what was held to be true in those days ; but it contains little of what remains true for all times. It was capable of pleasing one age, has been consulted in after times by critics and dilettanti, but it lives no longer in the heads and hearts of the people.

In this, as in other respects, ' *Faust* ' presents a contrast : it is built of imperishable materials, for it is built of human feel-

ings. The philosophy may grow old and trite,—the picture will remain for all posterity to wonder at. And what a picture! Look at it when we will, some new beauty, some unobserved felicity, or some unfathomed thought arrests our attention.

Marlowe and Calderon treat the subject each in a way conformable to his age and nation,—one exhibiting the legendary, the other the religious creed. Göthe, in taking up the old legend, was forced to breathe into it a modern spirit; we say *forced*, because the antique spirit had passed into other forms. This is an anachronism, if you will; so are Shakspeare's plays anachronisms; so are Racine's tragedies. Göthe has preserved the features of the legend, but given to them a new expression; not only a new, but an original expression,—one that could have been given by no one but himself. It is this latter circumstance that occasions part of the disappointment felt on a first perusal. The reader says "that is not the way I should have treated it:" clearly not. Men of original genius are original precisely because they see what others fail to see. As a specimen of what mere talent can do with the subject of Faust, let us for an instant look at Maler Müller's play.

The scene is that of a Gothic church in ruins. There the demons are assembled. Lucifer speaks sarcastically of the weakness and meanness of the age: there are no great crimes committed, no great men to seduce; everything is vulgar, commonplace, mediocre; vice is common, but crime is rare. Lucifer complains of this monotony: Mogol, the demon of money, complains also that he has no longer rivers of gold to pour into the lap of one man who would make good use of it; men calculate, save, and amass treasures penny by penny; the largest sums fall into the hands of the judges and of mothers who sell their daughters. Cacal, the demon of voluptuousness, declares his intention of quitting the world where he has no longer any employment. A woman deceives her husband, a lover seduces a girl, luxury enters into every house, runs in every vein, and men sin and damn themselves without the devil's aid. Atoti, the master of literature, then arrives, almost stupefied with the bad verses, pompous harangues and ridiculous phrases he has heard,—disgusted with the clamours of authors who by turns flatter and decry each

other, who place crowns upon their own heads, call themselves men of genius, bestow on each other patents of immortality, and finally sink to sleep upon the very works with which they have made their readers sleep. Lucifer sighs to think of the state of the world; but Mephistopheles re-assures him, and promises to bring him a man who is really great, Dr. Faust. Lucifer awaits the fulfilment of this promise, threatening to abdicate his throne if it be not fulfilled. Mephistopheles takes with him a troop of demons, and departs in quest of Faust.

The satire of this prologue is very transparent and very trivial; it is neither the artlessness of mediæval feeling, nor the searching, cutting satire, which finds the seat of disease and extirpates it,—amusing enough to read once; capable of being written by any man of ordinary talent in the course of an hour.

Faust dwells in Ingolstadt, where he is much renowned for his science but little for his conduct. The students have profound respect for him, but the tradespeople refuse him credit. Knellius, whom he has humiliated by his superiority—Knellius the proud, cowardly, envious pedant—has roused against him a troop of Jews, workmen and vagabonds. Faust is accused of being about to become bankrupt: the usurers come to demand of him the capital and interest of the sums they have lent him; the workmen demand payment for what they have done for him; and Knellius is at the head of them, inciting and encouraging them. During this time Faust is gambling in a wine-cellar: he has already lost the greater part of his property; he stakes the whole on a single throw, and loses. A tempest rages without; the cries of the multitude pursuing Faust are now heard. The gamblers fly; Faust remains alone, furious and despairing. A voice speaks to him from the air. "I extinguish the light," says Faust, "and speak with you in "darkness. If you are a friend, prove it to me; if not, remain "in hell."

A curtain is raised, and discovers various sacks of gold and silver. The voice says, "I give to my friend the wealth of this world."—"Is that true?" asks Faust. Another curtain is raised, and discovers crowns, sceptres and orders of nobility. "The grandeurs of this world to him I befriend!" exclaims

the voice. A third curtain is raised, and discovers groups of lovely girls dancing together to soft music. The voice again speaks, "The joys of this world to him who belongs to me!" There is one joy remaining, Faust remarks, whereupon another curtain is raised, and discovers a library with a bust of Faust crowned with a laurel wreath.

"THE VOICE.

"Honour and fame to those who follow me!

"FAUST.

"Where am I? Is this reality or fancy? Yes, it was reality; I feel it by the impression still remaining. Oh how those pictures entranced me! how I long to possess them! I am his who showed them to me. Let him come therefore! Come, powerful spirit, if thou canst satisfy my desires! Come! I call thee!"

Mephistopheles appears; the doors are burst in by the crowd in pursuit of Faust. The demon gives Faust a book, and this book carries him away through the air.

We need go no further to show what Maler Müller's play is like. Clever it certainly is,—effective in many places; but no poem worthy of a second perusal, much less of a twentieth. It is the production of a clever man, not of a genius; just what hundreds of men would have written, all confident that it was more poetical than Goethe's.

Goethe breathed into the old legend a modern spirit, gave the story a new significance, made it symbolical of another meaning than that afforded by the old tale of sorcery. But what is this meaning? This is a question constantly asked, which can be answered only doubtfully. Every one reads 'Faust' in his own way,—every one sees a different meaning in it, draws a different lesson from it. This is perhaps rather an advantage. In the same way every one reads differently the book of life,—no one reading it aright; each one reading it with sufficient accuracy to guide his steps by, though not with sufficient clearness to make him turn away his head and declare that there is nothing more to read. Enough if we can make out a coherent meaning; let others do the same for themselves. So with 'Faust'; unanimity is not imperative,—enough if each reader can find food there. No two persons are agreed on Hamlet; every one interprets the character as he best can.

We too have been in Arcady ; we too have read 'Faust' in our own way, and what we have been able to make out shall gladly be communicated. But from what has just been said, we shall not be expected to consider or combat the multifarious meanings promulgated by others. Our German friends theorize largely on the subject,—we trust with some results satisfactory to themselves. Our French friends also are liberal of *aperçus* and eclectic ingenuities. We leave both in peace ; having perused an indefinite quantity of their lucubrations with no sort of effect, with no results that we are at all able to remember, we shall prefer silence to renewing acquaintance with them. There is one opinion however which is not uncommon in our country, and which demands refutation because implying a misconception of the poem as a work of art. The opinion we allude to is expressed by Coleridge in the following words :—"The intended theme of the Faust is the consequences of a misology, or hatred and depreciation of knowledge caused by an originally intense thirst for knowledge baffled. But a love of knowledge for itself, and for pure ends, would never produce such a misology, but only a love of it for base and unworthy purposes." Such is Coleridge's view of 'Faust' ; his criticism on it of course is guided by that view :—"There is neither causation nor progression in the Faust ; he is a ready-made conjuror from the very beginning ; the *incredulus odi* is felt from the first line. The sensuality and thirst after knowledge are unconnected with each other. Mephistopheles and Margaret are excellent, but Faust himself is dull and meaningless*." Certainly, if Coleridge's idea of the 'Faust' is correct, his criticism is unimpeachable ; but is this idea correct ? is depreciation of knowledge all that 'Faust' is intended to represent ? We think not ; especially when we consider that, after the two first scenes, knowledge never comes into question at all ; it is exhausted in those two scenes, and Göthe was not in the habit of making more of any point than was necessary, therefore does not recur to the subject of knowledge when once he has dismissed it. Coleridge complains that the sensuality and thirst after knowledge are unconnected with each other. This only proves that his

* Table Talk, vol. ii. p. 114.

notion is unfounded, not that Göthe was a bungler. The truth is, Coleridge was hampered with his own conception of Michael Scott, and blamed Göthe for not according his poem to that conception.

No, the theme of 'Faust' is not misology; that is only the theme of a small portion of it, of two scenes only. The theme of 'Faust' is a much wider, deeper theme; one far more difficult to execute, far less easy to grasp. That theme—such at least as it stands out before the present reviewer—is something to this effect:—

Distinguishing between the twofold aspect in which the poem presents itself to the reader (as formerly indicated), and the philosophical idea which forms the theme—that is to say, between the poem as a work of art, and the poem as the incarnation of a philosophical idea—we should pronounce the theme of 'Faust' to be the apotheosis of scepticism, the cry of despair at the nothingness of life. Misology forms a portion, but only a portion of this theme. Baffled in his attempts to penetrate the mysteries of existence, the pale student sets sail upon the ocean of passion. Unable to embrace knowledge, he endeavours to realize happiness, and fails. The orgies of Auerbach's cellar, or of the Walpurgis Nacht, are unable to satisfy his cravings. The passion he feels for Gretchen is vehement but transitory; he finds pleasure in her society, but not happiness; she has no power to make him say to the passing moment, "Stay, thou art fair." Faust anticipated this. So convinced was he of the nothingness of life, that he consents to yield up his soul the instant he can be made to wish that life were longer,—the instant he would arrest the passing moment. Faust is restless because he seeks,—seeks what he can never find:—

"Es irrt der Mensch so lang' er strebt!"

This is the doom of humanity, according to Göthe: such are the words he puts into the mouth of the Deity: "man wanders into error as long as he seeks truth." What irony! yet it is true. Man may be wise, he may be happy; but the search after truth and the search after happiness are equally vain, leading to scepticism and despair. Observation and meditation will make him wise; healthy employment of his faculties

will make him happy. But his greatest wisdom is to perceive how little he knows, how

"All experience is an arch wherethrough
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when he moves."

His greatest happiness is to be unconscious of his happiness; it would fade away like a phantom if he were to scrutinize it. Who that is happy asks himself,—Can this indeed be happiness?

Such, as it appears to us, is the theme of 'Faust.' Does not this theme contain the great problem of our intellectual existence? Is not this the most vital, the most pressing, the most universal of all questions? Does it not, above all others, demand a clear and decisive solution? We would all fain be wise and happy. An instinctive impulse drives us onward; an inevitable scepticism awaits us at our journey's end. Must we then toil, and must we toil in vain? Is it true, that

"Es irrt der Mensch so lang' er strebt?"

Göthe has been bitterly reproached for having contented himself with stating this problem and not solving it; but is it capable of solution? We think not; at any rate it is not the poet's task to solve it; that is the philosopher's task.

When will men learn to comprehend the very important distinction between the office of the poet and the office of the philosopher? Prose and poetry have often been confounded, although the distinction is as clear as that between speech and song; philosophical thoughts may be uttered in poetry, as ordinary phrases may be uttered in song; but it is the poetry and not the thought, the song and not the phrase, that we are to regard. The poet seeks to delight, the philosopher to convince; the one sings, the other argues. The poet may, and does, make use of the oldest thoughts, which he clothes anew in some resplendent expression; but the philosopher must bring forward new thoughts, must use the old only to support and elucidate the new. The poet often seeks to flatter current opinions, current prejudices: the philosopher disdains to tamper with the truth; he endeavours to present man with the truth; whereas the poet only en-

deavours to present man with beauty, which is the splendour of truth.

Such being the very distinct ends, we must of course admit equally distinct means. Accordingly we find the real poet never writing philosophical poems whose aim is to promulgate new truths, but only giving poetical expressions to certain philosophical ideas well accredited amongst thinking men. For the object of poetry is not truth ; it is, as Campbell profoundly says, "the eloquence of truth." And this may readily be proved both by precept and example. If a truth be new, it will in nine cases out of ten require detailed proof before it be accepted ; there are indeed some truths so simple and so clear that they are on the first statement accepted without hesitation ; but these are few. Now a poet cannot argue,—it would be lese-poesy : he cannot startle his audience with new truths which would be unwelcome to them,—it would be fatal to the very object of his addressing them : he must therefore content himself with truths generally received, or with such offshoots of accredited truths as will be at once received because requiring no proof. What then does the philosophy in poets amount to ? simply to "the eloquence of truth." Look through any of the philosophical poets, and see if you can find any problem solved, or attempted to be solved, and you will only find beautiful expressions of the solutions of others. In the beautiful passage which we have already cited, that

" All experience is an arch wherethrough
Gleams that untravell'd world, whose margin fades
For ever and for ever when I move,"

every one will admit that a profound thought is uttered in a profound manner : yet the thought is as old as the hills ; it is simply that the more we know the more we discover is to be known, and that instead of reaching the boundaries of knowledge, they grow more distant for ever and for ever as we move. Who has not said this ? Who has said it so finely ? So also when Shelley describes the fate of soul and body :—

" One aspires to heaven,
Pants for its sempiternal heritage,
And ever-changing, ever-rising still,
Wantons in endless being.

The other, for a time the unwilling sport
 Of circumstance and passion, struggles on,
 Fleets through its sad duration rapidly ;
 Then like an useless and worn-out machine
 Rots, perishes, and passes ; ”

he but expresses the opinion of all his readers, but expresses it as they could never do ; he gives them the eloquence of truth. It must not however be concluded from the foregoing argument that the philosophical poet does no more than dress up common thoughts : this is the process of Calderon and his like, but not of great poets. Those thoughts which have entered the minds of others are not the less original for that ; an original thinker is one who thinks for himself, who expresses thoughts which have been discovered by himself, though they may have been discovered by hundreds of other men, and he gives to each of them his own peculiar impress. Poets are original thinkers, consequently they give to common thoughts an individual physiognomy,—an expression which belongs to them only. And this expression often rescues from oblivion familiar but important truths, calling attention by its splendour to what had been overlooked. “ Like moisture on the pebble, genius brings out many a vein and many a tint which escape the idea of common observation, thus raising to the rank of gems what had been often kicked away by the hurrying foot of the traveller on the dusty high-road of custom*.” This leads us to discover the secret of the vanity of translation. If poetry “ n’est qu’une forme,” as George Sand truly says, if it is the individual physiognomy of the poet, the peculiar expression which he gives to thoughts that constitutes the charm of poetry, how can this be preserved in translation ? Instead of the poet’s mind you have the translator’s mind as the mirror in which things are reflected. In translating, a man endeavours to give equivalent expressions in his language for those of his original ; but although equivalent *meanings* may be given, equivalent *expressions* it is impossible to find ; because although two nations will agree in the broad meaning of words, they can never agree in the various associations which attach themselves to words. For instance,

“ The river glideth at its own sweet will ”

* Coleridge.

is a beautiful verse; the meaning is obvious enough, common enough; the expression alone constitutes its beauty. How could it be translated? the word "glideth" is neither *glisse* nor *coule*: these words represent accurately enough the dictionary meaning, but destroy the poetical meaning. There is no other word in the English language which could be substituted for *glideth*,—much less in a foreign language. So also "its own sweet will" may be rendered *doucement, librement*; but it is then no longer poetry. From what has just been said, we not only gather the vanity of poetical translation, but also the reason why celebrated poems appear commonplace in translation. It is usually argued that in a translation the original ideas are preserved, and that from the value of these ideas you can judge of the value of the poem,—a most pernicious sophism! You cannot preserve a poet's ideas unless you also preserve his expressions, for his ideas are pictures. Write—

"The river runneth free from all restraint,"

and then see if you have preserved the poet's ideas; no, you have preserved his prose-meaning,—the picture is destroyed. He animates nature in his own poetic way; the translator either substitutes *his* poetic animation, or else reduces the verse to a statement of the ordinary course of nature, as in the above example. Translate one of Horace's odes, one of Göthe's lyrics, or one of Béranger's songs, and ask the opinion of any critic as to the beauty of the composition; you will then find that what all the world pronounces exquisite in the original no one thinks above commonplace in the translation.

We appear to have been digressing, but have only tacked about to fill our sails with wind and so ride triumphant into port. The positions just laid down, and which we must assume as proved, enable us to settle three points essential to the present inquiry:—1st, Göthe was in nowise bound to solve the problem he stated in 'Faust.' 2ndly, It is a very philosophical poem, in spite of the absence of any solution. 3rdly, Those who know it only through translations have no conception whatever of its excellence, have no conception of the ideas it contains, and can neither appreciate its beauty nor its profound wisdom.

The problem of Faust is not to be solved, at least not in the present state of philosophy. In default of *Œdipus*, we must be content with Alexander, and cut the knot we cannot untie: *nihil interest quomodo solvantur*. Now although Göthe the poet did not untie the knot, Göthe the man showed us how it should be cut. He lived, as we formerly endeavoured to point out, a long laborious life, a wise and happy man,—one of the wisest of men; perhaps too one of the happiest. How did he succeed? By confining himself to the knowable and attainable, and never wasting his strength on the unknowable and unattainable. Truth—absolute truth—the secret of the universe, the secret of our existence, is for ever placed beyond the boundaries of human knowledge. All our knowledge is relative; insignificant enough if compared with that which remains unknown, unknowable; but not insignificant to us: on the contrary, very significant to us, sufficient for us, immensely difficult of acquisition. Let us therefore be content with the importance and the difficulty; do not let us contend with immeasurably greater difficulty, and contend for shadows. Let us patiently observe, patiently classify and patiently meditate. We shall not discover Truth, but we shall discover Use. We shall not share with angels a knowledge of the essences of things, but we shall discover, for the benefit of man, the various uses of things; we shall learn the laws which regulate the action of material bodies, and the laws which regulate human development. This is what all wise men do. Great as are our stores of facts, rapid as is the advancement of each science, we are only becoming more familiar with the uses of things; we are making no steps towards the discovery of truth, of the essences of things; nay, it is rather the token of a wise man, in these days, that he renounce altogether the search after truth absolute, contenting himself with truth relative,—that he relinquish the vain endeavour to penetrate eternal mysteries, contenting himself with clear intelligible fact and use. Auguste Comte says that this is not only the token of a wise man, but that it is also the inevitable tendency of modern science; and that before long all men, wise or unwise, will see the necessity of conforming to such a tendency.

ARTICLE III.

1. *Quadro storico-statistico della Serenissima Repubblica di San Marino del Capitano Oreste Brizi.* Firenze, 1842. 8vo.
2. *Elogio del Cardinale Giulio Alberoni, scritto dall' Abate Giuseppe Bignami.* Piacenza, 1833. 8vo.

THE attention of Europe was first called to the republic of San Marino by two Englishmen, Addison* and Gillies†, whose accounts, although interesting, are neither complete nor correct. To Melchior Delfico we owe a history of the republic, illustrated by authentic documents hitherto inedited‡; and the author of the small history mentioned at the head of this article, has collected many interesting facts; unhappily he has stated them with the pedantic affectation which was to be expected from a man who devotes *ten* lines of the title-page to setting forth the names of *a portion* of the obscure academies to which he belongs. We have thought that a condensed account of the history, political constitution and present condition of this, the most ancient and, with one exception§ the smallest, state in Europe, may both amuse and instruct those who take an interest in the early history and polity of the ancient Greek and Italian republics, upon which this living specimen of an old commonwealth must necessarily throw great light. Connected with the history of San Marino is the latter part of the life of Cardinal Alberoni, a name well known in the political history of Europe during the early part of the last century,—who, after having shown himself a dangerous enemy to our liberties, when at the head of the Spanish ministry, proved a still greater foe to those of the republic

* In his 'Remarks on several parts of Italy in the years 1701—1703.'

† His account of San Marino was first published in 1795 (although he visited the place in 1777), among the 'Anecdotes of some distinguished persons.' The author afterwards inserted it in an enlarged form as an appendix to the second book of his translation of Aristotle's 'Politics.'

‡ *Memorie storiche della Rep. di S. Marino.* Milano, 1804; 4to. It has been reprinted.

§ The principality of Lichtenstein, the inhabitants of which amount to 5800.

of San Marino before he closed his political career, and was equally unsuccessful against both. It is moreover our desire to rectify the erroneous assertions usually relied on respecting this remarkable man.

The republic of San Marino is situated on the Monte Titano*, ten miles from Rimini. It consists of the town itself, placed on the top of the mountain, 794 meters above the level of the Adriatic, and of the Borgo and castles of Serravalle, Montegiardino, Faetano and Fiorentino. The population of the whole certainly does not exceed 7000, and is supposed to be under 6000; the territory is about sixteen square geographical miles. The climate is cold for at least half the year; the soil is poor and not productive enough for the support of its inhabitants, who exchange their excellent wines for corn. They enjoy the reputation of being a frank, manly and industrious race, satisfied with their condition; among whom colossal fortunes, abject poverty and utter ignorance, are alike unknown. There are about forty-five priests, twenty-five monks or friars, and twenty-eight nuns. The state is divided into eight parishes, forming part of the dioceses of Montefeltro and Rimini.

These preliminary statistical facts we deem it important to record before we speak of the government of this *nation*. Our readers will not be surprized to find its origin involved in obscurity, like that of other renowned states. Tradition records, that a stone-mason named Marino† journeyed from Dalmatia to the mountain to work a quarry, which existed as early as the third or fourth century, and that he settled there, at the head of a small society,—partly religious and partly political, not bound to celibacy,—for whom he obtained a grant of the territory, which he bequeathed to them *free and independent*. Having led a holy life, Marino became famous for miracles, before as well as after death, and finally obtained the honour of canonization‡. His domain did not extend beyond the summit of San Marino, whose history, from its foundation until the 20th of February, 885,

* Acer Mons or Titanus of Strabo.

† Even the name is not quite certain. Some have called him *Mariano*, others *Martino*.

‡ The life of San Marino in the Bollandists deserves perusal.

is utterly unknown ; but a well-known charter bearing this date shows the *monastery* of San Marino to have been, after a judicial investigation, declared independent of Delto, bishop of Rimini, to whose see it was proved, in the language of the deed, not to have belonged "for the last forty, fifty, or a hundred years." After this, partly by conquest, partly by purchase, the territory was enlarged, and the Borgo built ; whilst the attempts of various governors of Romagna, who attempted to tax and toll in the territory of "the university, commonalty and liberty of the castle of San Marino," were successfully resisted, sometimes before papal judges, sometimes under the patronage and assistance of the family of Montefeltro, dukes of Urbino and powerful chiefs of the Ghibelline faction, which was always supported by the people of San Marino, careless of excommunication or absolution from the Pope. To the poverty of their territory, the steepness of their stronghold,—in old time considered an admirable fortress*,—as well as to the mutual jealousy of the Popes, the government of Florence and the dukes of Urbino, was due the preservation of the independence of San Marino, not less than to the energy and moderation of its citizens,—qualities which would not have sufficed to preserve them from the grasp of one powerful neighbour, if two of the tyrants, ever jealous of the third, had not supported the republic†. The necessity of this support became evident on the detestable Duke Valentino taking possession of Urbino. His father, Pope Alexander VII., supporting him in all his iniquities, and the republic of Florence having enough to do to preserve her own independence, San Marino was seized, against every

* "Admirabile fortalitium," says Benvenuto da Imole, speaking of the castle of San Marino.

† There are repeated instances of one or more of these three neighbours promising assistance to San Marino against its enemies, viz. its other neighbour. One of the most energetic letters from the republic of Florence in 1469, encouraging them to defend themselves from the Pope runs thus:—"You don't require our encouragement, for we know your steadiness, noble-mindedness and greatness of soul ; and you are so placed, as to have all the esteem of our allies as well as our own. Continue as you have done ; show your prudence, steadiness and valour, by which, besides being of great consolation to your own conscience (for such is the nature of virtue) you will lay the allies and ourselves under so great an obligation as we shall never forget the favour." This was written on the 21st of June, and on the 13th they had written, "You must be cheerful, constant and firm, and lose your life with your liberty ; to a freeman death is preferable to slavery ; God, who loves freedom, will help and defend you, and we, as well as our allies, shall not fail you."

principle of good faith. Its inhabitants, however, were not long before they attempted to recover their liberty, in which they eventually succeeded, although the people of Serravalle, to their eternal disgrace, made common cause with the tyrant. From that time San Marino continued in the uninterrupted possession of independence, unnoticed and unmo-
 lested, and in 1549 it even received from Pope Paul III. a solemn acknowledgment of its liberties. The last prince of the Urbini, foreseeing the probability of his dying without heirs, on which his state would become united to those of the Pope, suggested to the republic a treaty, under his guarantee, by which the court of Rome should be still further bound to respect the small commonwealth, which would become enclosed in its dominions. The treaty was signed and ratified between Clement VIII. and San Marino; and when the duchy of Urbino actually merged in the Roman territory, Urban VIII. again recognized the independence of the republic, accepting the honour of its protectorate, but expressly acknowledging it as a sovereign state*. The bishop of Montefeltro vainly endeavoured to enforce his pretensions of temporal sovereignty over the little republic, whose citizens now began to be careless of the fate of their old country. Few could be prevailed upon to attend the meetings of the sovereign assembly; the number of its members was next diminished; soon afterwards a kind of oligarchy was introduced, which gave rise to desperate feuds and factions; till one of the parties, abusing the influence and power of Cardinal Alberoni, then legate of Romagna and residing at Ravenna, nearly brought about the destruction of the republic. The conduct of the citizens, the cardinal and the papal government, under the dangerous circumstances in which the state was placed, deserve to be known; but first we wish to give a short history of the life of the renowned Giulio Alberoni. He was born on the 21st of May, 1664, in Piacenza, where his paternal house (two rooms) was sold long after by himself for about £8. He was successively servant to the clerk† of two churches;

* "Libertate, jurisdictione, meroque et mixto imperio semper salvis."

† It is difficult to give a precise idea of this situation to an English protestant reader. He was "chierico di sagristia," a sort of hanger-on, ready to perform any service that the priest or anybody about the vestry may require.

in one of these a clergyman taught him reading and writing; at the other (a church of the Barnabite Friars) he learned Latin and *belles lettres*. At a later period he studied philosophy, theology and civil law under the Jesuits. He was twenty-one when the criminal judge of Piacenza, Ignazio Gardini of Ravenna, was dismissed and banished by the duke. Alberoni followed him to Ravenna, and continued with him until his return. At Ravenna Alberoni had become acquainted with Giorgio Barni, the vice-legate of that province, who in 1688 was elected bishop of Piacenza. He presented himself to the new bishop, who, being strongly attached to him, appointed him master of the household, in which character he returned to Piacenza. Two years afterwards, having obtained a title, he was ordained priest. Bishop Barni soon found to his cost that Alberoni's talents were not exactly such as to fit him for his office: he relieved him from it, appointing him tutor to his nephew, who afterwards became a cardinal, and giving him a prebend. The tutor was not much beyond his pupil in knowledge; he became however the companion of his studies, and, besides attending lectures on canon law and ecclesiastical history, learned French. He then accompanied his pupil to Rome, and on his return to Piacenza became a favourite with the most distinguished personages of that city,—among others, with Alessandro Roncovieri, who, after having been sent by the duke as envoy to Louis XIV., travelled for two years and a half over Europe, visiting the principal courts, in company with Antonio Farnese, brother of the duke of Parma.

When Marshal Vendome was appointed commander-in-chief of the French army in Italy, the duke of Parma sent Roncovieri, then bishop of S. Donnino, as his commissary, to the head-quarters of the general. Roncovieri took Alberoni with him, who, through his wit and easy manners, became such a favourite with the marshal, that Roncovieri advised the duke to appoint him his commissary, which was done. The story related with so much offensive minuteness by Saint-Simon, to account for the intimacy between Vendome and Alberoni, rests on the single assertion of that writer, who chronicles far too readily the gossip which he picked up, and feels an ill-concealed pleasure in blackening the charac-

ter of men much greater than himself*. The anecdotes which other writers have ventured to record of Alberoni's meanness of character rest on no better foundation; nor do they seem credible of a man who bore misfortune with great courage, who was accused of pride, haughtiness and violence of temper, but never littleness of mind, and whose numerous and unscrupulous enemies never published in his lifetime the vulgar stories which they were pleased to circulate after his death. Alberoni had risen from the lowest beginning to one of the highest pinnacles of human ambition. He had made enemies of all the sovereigns and ministers of the great European states, he had been unsuccessful, and had fallen. By the force of his own genius and his innocence, he had passed unharmed through a severe ordeal. Is it wonderful that slander should have been successfully resorted to, to blacken the memory of a man who had so triumphed against the unworthy league formed to destroy him?

The influence acquired by Alberoni over Vendome proved of service to the duke of Parma, near whose dominions the war was raging. Vendome, on retiring from the command of the French army in Italy, was followed by his *cher Abbé* (as he used to call Alberoni) to his country-seat of Anet, and subsequently to Flanders. After the loss of the battle of Oudenarde, when the courtiers endeavoured to cast the blame on Vendome, Alberoni wrote a pithy letter in defence of his friend, which was read with avidity, and excited to an incredible degree the anger of the marshal's enemies†. Eventually Vendome was obliged to retire again to Anet, and afterwards, (it is said by the persuasion and influence of Alberoni,) he was induced to accept the command of the Spanish army. Alberoni accompanied him to Spain. The battle of Brihuega secured the throne of the peninsula to a branch of the house of Bourbon, and rendered peace possible.

* Take the following specimen:—"Albéroni était d'un petit village auprès de Bayonne, où ses pareils vinrent d'Italie s'habituer. Pourquoi une transplantation si éloignée? Elle sent bien le crime et la fuite de la punition, mais je l'ignore, parcequ'on ne s'est pas avisé encore de donner l'histoire des Albéroni. Son père y vivait de son métier de jardinier, et vendait tous les jours des fruits, et plus encore des légumes, à Bayonne, où mille gens l'ont ouï dire à leur père et où quelques-uns encore l'ont vu."—*St. Simon*, ch. 204 (edit. of 1840). The correctness of the facts is only matched by the fairness of the observations.

† See the letter in *St. Simon*, ch. 204, and his observations on it.

After Vendome's death, at Vinaros, Alberoni, who had never abandoned him, proceeded to Madrid, where he found the princess Orsini not unmindful that to him she owed her reconciliation with the departed warrior. The minister of Parma in Spain having often offered his resignation, it was at last accepted, and Alberoni, raised to the rank of a count, was chosen to succeed him. In this character, in a conversation with the princess Orsini, he suggested the match between Philip V. and Elizabeth Farnese, heiress of the states of Parma and Piacenza. The marriage was celebrated, and the princess Orsini was dismissed by the new queen, and sent out of Spain without one moment's delay under a military escort, with strict orders never to re-enter the kingdom; Philip, one of the most uxorious and weak-minded of men, was entirely guided by his wife, who found in Alberoni a faithful and prudent guide. It has never been doubted that it was by his advice that the new queen expelled her husband's favourite from the kingdom. If we consider the influence that the princess Orsini had acquired over the king,—the use that she had made and was likely to make of it,—the impossibility of ever subduing her, if she were not at once driven out of the country,—we cannot but approve of Alberoni's advice. That the princess should have been put into a carriage without clothing enough to protect her from the cold, that she should not have been allowed to take with her a change of dress, that she should in other respects have been treated with great harshness and almost cruelty, must be regretted; for this, however, Alberoni cannot be held responsible, not being charged with the execution of the queen's orders. But he was bound, as a well-wisher to the prosperity of Spain and to the happiness of her monarch and his family, to insist upon the necessity of expelling a haughty, greedy and intriguing foreigner from the court as well as from the councils of the monarchy, where she had too long exercised a baneful influence. Alberoni wrote at the time to the master of the household of the duke of Parma:—"Believe me, with this single remedy numberless chronic diseases have been cured."

Alberoni, consulted on all affairs of state by the queen, was by degrees admitted to discuss them with the king; and, long before he had the name, he possessed all the influence of a

favourite prime minister. The state of Spain was most wretched and the government bad, even for Spain, where no tolerable government has existed within the memory of man. Alberoni undertook the task of reforming, and persevered in it to the moment of his fall; had he obtained what he ardently desired, and what he has been unjustly blamed for not obtaining, namely five years of peace for Spain, he would no doubt have succeeded in making her king one of the most powerful princes in Europe. The man who rose from a humble origin to be the prime minister of a great country, and that a foreign one, and who not only conceived but carried such reforms into effect, as will be hereafter more especially mentioned, must have been possessed of qualities rare in any country and utterly unknown among Spaniards.

But his desire that peace should be maintained for five years at least was not gratified by the ignorant and proud master whom he served. By the various treaties which form what is known by the general appellation of the Peace of Utrecht, war had ceased between all the powers except the emperor of Austria and the king of Spain. Alberoni saw that, unsupported by England, the emperor might be greatly humbled, and he relied on France to support the French prince who filled the Spanish throne. Nor did he fail to perceive likewise, that a firm alliance between England and Spain was likely to be brought about, through the corresponding interests of the two countries; he did all he could to establish this, and relieve Spain from the oppressive yoke of French domination. Unfortunately a child had succeeded Louis XIV., whose will was completely thrown aside; the duke of Orleans had seized the regency of the kingdom, well knowing that the king of Spain neither wanted the inclination, nor would scruple as to the means, to dispossess him of that exalted situation, and eventually put himself forward as the immediate successor to the French crown, in preference to the Orleans branch. The Pretender threatened to plunge England in civil war, and George I. was well aware of the danger he should incur if his adversary could rely on French sympathy and support, and how much his presence in France threatened the tranquillity of England. He felt therefore the advantage of entering into a close connection

with the duke of Orleans, who, on the other hand, was glad to be able to rely on England against the attempts of the Spanish monarch. Thus the personal interests of the princes prevailed, and a close alliance was formed between England and France.

The conduct of the Czar and of Sweden rendered it imperative to bind the regent to a positive line of policy, and a treaty between England and France was concluded and signed, with a special proviso that the Dutch might become parties to it if they so desired. Subsequently a treaty, called that of the Triple Alliance, was signed between England, France and Holland; some time before a defensive treaty and a mutual guarantee of territory had been signed between England and the Emperor. Spain was almost alone. The king was anxious to break, or to be ready to break, the renunciation he had made to the French succession, as well as to humble the emperor, who continued to take the title of king of Spain; whilst the queen of Spain strongly desired an addition of territory to her small Italian domains, and hated the emperor as cordially as did her husband. Alberoni did his utmost to prepare for events, not only by arming, but by endeavouring to give occupation both to France and to England at home, and by negotiating with Sweden and Russia, to make a powerful diversion in Germany, in addition to that produced by the Turkish war, in which the emperor had embarked, on the assurance of the pope (who had received a pledge to that effect from Spain) that no aggression would be made against him whilst he was at war with the enemies of Christianity. This pledge would have been redeemed, had not a trifling circumstance given the king of Spain a pretext for breaking it. Don Joseph Molines being appointed inquisitor-general, departed from Rome, intending to go to Madrid, through Lombardy, on the implied assurance (as he said) of the imperial minister at the papal court that he would be suffered to pass unmolested. The moment he touched Austrian ground he was arrested, taken to the castle of Milan, and his papers seized and sent to Vienna. Even admitting that he had no promise of security from the imperial minister at Rome, it was contended that, as both this monarch and that of Spain had recognized the neutrality of Italy, which the other powers had guaranteed,

Spain had a right to revenge the arrest of Molines as a barefaced infraction of treaties.

There is scarcely a doubt that Alberoni deprecated hostilities, as at all events premature; much as he had done, he was yet far from ready to embark in the fearful struggle which he foresaw. Had he had the courage to resign, when he found his sovereign bent on plans which would bring all the powers of Europe on his kingdom, he would have been spared the unjust obloquy of being the author of a rash, ruinous and unjust war. But the minister of a despot is not to be judged of as we judge an English minister. Probably Alberoni did not feel justified in leaving his sovereign in difficulties; he may have been moved by gratitude or ambition, or both, to endeavour to extricate him from them, since he could not prevent his running into them; and he may have deceived himself as to the extent of the danger and the means of meeting it. He continued at the head of affairs, always wishing and advising peace, but at the same time doing his best to carry on the war which his master was determined on waging.

A Spanish fleet of twelve men-of-war, carrying nine thousand men, sailed from Barcelona, and after some opposition landed in Sardinia, then in the hands of the emperor, which they soon conquered. The emperor complained loudly of this breach of the promise made by the court of Spain, that no advantage should be taken of the war in which the emperor was engaged against the Turks; and the pope, highly indignant at being, as he alleged, deceived, wrote a strong letter to the king of Spain, accusing Alberoni as the adviser of measures contrary to the laws of God and man. The pope was personally offended with Alberoni, whom he had just created a cardinal on the ground of his having powerfully assisted the Christians in their war against the Moslems. England sent a special minister to Madrid, and the French and Dutch courts openly declared that they would join with England in forcing the king of Spain to come to terms. Alberoni showed the greatest dexterity and tact in the course of this negotiation; but England being determined, in spite of the coldness of her allies, to support the emperor and coerce Spain, a fleet was sent to the Mediter-

reanean. At the same time, an alliance between England, France, the emperor, and subsequently Holland, was entered into, by which Sicily was guaranteed to the emperor, Sardinia to the duke of Savoy, instead of Sicily, and Tuscany as well as Parma to the second son of Philip V. Earl Stanhope went to Madrid, to endeavour to prevail upon his catholic majesty to agree to this arrangement within the time specified in the treaty itself (three months), after which it was stipulated that the allies should jointly compel him to accept it. At the same time, Admiral Byng, commander of the English fleet in the Mediterranean, requested Stanhope to inform the Spanish government that his orders were to maintain the neutrality of Italy and defend the states of the emperor. The admiral's letter, dated June 20th, 1718, was communicated to Alberoni, who returned it to Stanhope with this note, "The king has commanded me to say that Admiral Byng may execute the orders he has received from the king his master." This was dated from the Escorial, July 15th.

Only two days before the date of the admiral's letter the Spanish troops had entered Palermo, where they were received with enthusiasm by the inhabitants, who rose against the Piedmontese. The allies, without the consent of the Sicilians or the duke of Savoy, to whom the island had been transferred by the treaties of Utrecht on the express condition that it should never be allowed to pass to any other power save Spain, had agreed that Sicily should be taken from the house of Savoy and given to the emperor. Nothing could lead the Spanish court to believe that Byng would attack the Spanish fleet on the coast of Sicily. An English minister was still at Madrid and a Spanish one in London; and Byng, on the complaint of the Spanish admiral that English ships had escorted transports full of imperial troops from the Neapolitan to the Sicilian coast, had answered that such conduct could not be considered an act of hostility. On the 11th of August, however, the English fleet attacked and almost annihilated the Spanish one; yet the English admiral wrote to the marquis of Lede, who commanded the Spanish troops in Sicily, that the attack was begun by the Spaniards, and that this "untoward accident" ought not to be considered equivalent to a declaration of war!

Alberoni justly complained of this conduct on the part of a government from whom no warning of hostile intentions had been received. But he was not satisfied with issuing manifestos and writing dispatches. Foreseeing the storm, he had endeavoured to occupy both the English and the French governments at home: his plans were in substance as follows. The Pretender was to land in Scotland, supported not only by Spain but by Russia and Sweden. Peter the Great was highly dissatisfied with George I., who opposed his wish to get a footing in Germany, and Charles XII. could not forgive this monarch for accepting Bremen and Verder from the king of Denmark, as the price of his joining the league against Sweden. Alberoni determined to avail himself of these anti-British feelings. He succeeded in bringing about a meeting between a Russian and Swedish minister at the island of Aland (17th May, 1718), and under the mediation of a Spanish agent these agreed upon the preliminaries of a treaty of peace between the crowns. An allied fleet was to land 30,000 men on the British islands, under the command of Charles XII., in support of the Pretender, who was to join the invaders from Spain, whilst the Czar was to enter Germany at the head of 150,000 men. Reckoning that with such aid the Jacobites would easily restore the Stuart dynasty, the allies were to assist the Spanish monarch in recovering his rights as guardian of the French king, which, they contended, were usurped by the duke of Orleans, who had no lawful claim to the regency.

Philip V., a cold, obstinate, proud, ignorant and indolent monarch, to an understanding always weak and often utterly unsound, united deep cunning and false principles. He never looked upon his solemn renunciations of the French throne, after which alone the peace of Utrecht had been signed, but as pieces of parchment which he ought to tear in pieces whenever the opportunity presented itself. On the death of Louis XIV. he fully intended to seize the regency of France; but Alberoni warned him that before he could arrive in that country the parliament would have conferred it upon the duke of Orleans, as they did. He did not however renounce, he only postponed, his projects. On the other hand, the duke of Orleans could entertain no friendly feeling

towards a man whose intentions he well knew, and who had ceased, after the death of Louis XIV., to show any deference to French orders, French wishes and French caprices. The only persons who had influence over the king were his queen, Alberoni and d'Aubenton, a French jesuit, his confessor; the last of whom knew well that his place depended on the goodwill of the two former. The queen was no friend to the jesuits; alone, however, she was not a formidable rival, deprived of the assistance of so shrewd and faithful a counsellor as Alberoni. It was against him therefore that the duke of Orleans turned all his efforts, and for this purpose he sent as his confidential agent to Madrid the marquis de Louville, once a favourite of Philip V., with instructions to procure the disgrace of the minister by any means. Louville, however, met with the reception which he deserved: he was not even permitted to see the king, from whom he received orders to quit Madrid immediately. This was in August 1716. Soon after, the duke of Orleans wrote to the king a private and confidential letter against Alberoni, which he hoped might be secretly delivered by the confessor, to whom it was forwarded through another jesuit, Trevoux; d'Aubenton communicated it to Alberoni, who boldly wrote to one of his agents at Paris a letter to be shown to the duke of Orleans, from which this prince might learn the opinion entertained of him throughout Europe.

Under these circumstances Alberoni did not scruple to organize a conspiracy by which his enemy was to be deprived of the regency; this being transferred to the king of Spain, the resources of France would be turned against the emperor. Many of the French nobility were openly in favour of the king's claims; so also were the legitimated sons of Louis XIV., the jesuits and all the partisans of the famous bull *Unigenitus*. Prince Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador at Paris, a man of considerable address, had the management of the affair in France; already were the proclamations and other documents prepared which were to be published in the name of the duke of Anjou (the French title of the king of Spain) the moment that the duke of Orleans should be seized by a number of colonels in the French army and carried to Spain,—when the conspiracy was discovered. It seems that Cellamare employed as his amanuensis a certain Buvat, a

copyist in the king's library, who understood Spanish and thus learnt all that was going on, the conspirators having carried their imprudence to the extent of writing without cypher all the dispatches relative to this rash transaction. Buvat informed cardinal Dubois of all he knew; and when at length the dispatches were sent off to Spain, giving all the details, the names of the conspirators, etc., the messenger who had charge of them was stopped at Poitiers (December 8th, 1718), his papers were seized, prince Cellamare was arrested and ultimately sent out of France under an escort. The most remarkable among the conspirators, as the duke and duchess du Maine, the count Laval, the marquis Pompadour, his lady and cardinal Polignac, were either arrested or exiled to their country-seats, but not long after were all pardoned. The duke of Saint Aignan, French ambassador at Madrid, succeeded in escaping to France.

War was now declared by England and France against Spain. The army which had conquered Sicily was hard pressed by the imperial troops; the strongest Spanish fortresses fell successively into the hands of the French, whilst an English navy destroyed the Spanish commerce and ravaged the Spanish coast. The reckless monarch, who had forced his bold and faithful minister to carry on a war which he had opposed by all the means in his power, began now to be displeased with him because he could not resist the whole of Europe allied against Spain. It was Alberoni's misfortune that he served an unreasonable despot; it was his fault that he continued to serve him when he could not bring him to reason; but it is highly honourable to his talents and integrity, that the enemies of Spain should have so far abused the fortune of war as to insist on not making peace till Alberoni was dismissed. That the sovereign should have submitted to this humiliating condition for the good of his kingdom, may be excused on the plea of necessity; indeed Alberoni himself wrote, "that this was the smallest sacrifice that could be made to the peace of Europe;" but that his dismissal should have been accompanied by ingratitude and duplicity would be incredible, did we not recollect that it was the act of a Bourbon, the last of the false and mean-spirited race of Farnese.

By a series of ignoble intrigues the minister's disgrace was secretly brought about. On the evening of the 4th of December 1719, Alberoni transacted business with the king, who showed him no symptoms of diminished confidence: on the following morning early his majesty started for the Prado, leaving behind, not a letter to Alberoni, but a royal decree for the marquis of Tolosa, secretary of state, ordering Alberoni to quit the ministry at once, to leave Madrid within eight days and Spain in three weeks. Alberoni wrote to the king, but no answer was returned to his letter. It is known that he repeatedly requested to be allowed to leave Spain by Biscay or Portugal; but this was refused, and he was ordered to take the route of Catalonia, although to do this was to risk his life, he having when minister used strong measures to put down an insurrection of the inhabitants against the very king who now had the baseness to deliver him to their mercy. To the honour of the Spanish character, never were Alberoni's visitors more distinguished or more numerous when at the height of his power than they were the moment his fall was known; the jealous king in consequence compelled him to leave Madrid a day sooner than he had appointed by his own decree of the 5th. As Alberoni had foreseen, he was attacked on the road between Lerida and Gerona by 150 miquelets, who seem to have been directed to lie in wait for him: his escape was almost miraculous; one of his drivers and one soldier were killed, and four of his escort mortally wounded. In France he was accompanied by a gentleman especially appointed by the government to escort him to Antibes, where he embarked on board a frigate sent by the republic of Genoa to meet him. He landed safely at Sestri. A few days afterwards a letter from cardinal Imperiali, accompanied by a brief from the pope, was delivered to the doge of Genoa, requiring that prince to deliver Alberoni up, to be lodged in Castel Sant' Angelo, for various reasons important "to the Christian religion." Although the republic at first consented to arrest Alberoni in his hotel, it was thought to be against the law of nations and hospitality to detain him, still more to deliver him up without the good of Christianity being fully proved to require it. These proofs not being produced, the republic, to their great honour, set Alberoni at liberty.

He shortly afterwards disappeared, no one knowing whither he had retired: it seems that he went to Switzerland, where he remained concealed about a twelvemonth, when the death of Clement XI. rendered the assembling of a conclave to elect his successor necessary.

By the canons, no election is valid if all the cardinals (even schismatics or those accused of crime, no matter how great) have not been summoned to vote and allowed freely to exercise this privilege. In vain the enemies of Alberoni tried to have him excluded: not only was he summoned, but ample passports were forwarded to insure him free ingress to, and egress from, the conclave. He all at once appeared at Bologna, none knowing whence he came, and thence proceeded to Rome, where he was received almost in triumph. He entered the conclave, voted at the election of Innocent XIII., and afterwards was allowed to live quietly at Rome in retirement; whilst a commission composed of seven cardinals was collecting evidence on his conduct to satisfy the ungrateful king and queen of Spain, who could not forgive the deep obligations under which he had laid them. In this unseemly persecution of an individual they were at first supported not only by France and Austria, but by England; and we blush to say that the keeping him out of Spain and his bishopric of Malaga was not considered unworthy of special dispatches between the duke of Newcastle and the English ministers at Paris and Madrid. At last it was found that no charge could be substantiated against Alberoni; and the pope suggested, in order to avoid giving offence to the Spanish monarch by administering strict justice, that it would be better to *pardon* him; on this he received the *hat* from the pope and took his place in the consistory. His means seem to have been limited, which we mention because among other calumnies it has been said that he accumulated enormous treasures during his ministry. He had reserved a pension of about £2000 on renouncing the bishopric of Malaga; and some time later cardinal Polignac obtained for him a pension from the French government. His great merits toward Spain have never been fairly appreciated till lately—and we are glad to say, in this country—by an historian who was certainly no blind partisan of his, and who sums up his services to the Peninsula as follows:—

"It is gratifying to contemplate the behaviour of extraordinary men in those trying situations which shake the firmest mind; and fortunately the general interest attached to the character and habits of Alberoni enables us to indulge this curiosity. In the struggle of contending passions which followed his disgrace, the exiled minister sought consolation in a work which is calculated to inspire contempt for the delusive vanities of a transitory world. A copy of 'Thomas a Kempis, De Imitatione Christi' is preserved in the ducal library at Parma, with marginal remarks in his own hand, recording the ordinary events of his journey and other occurrences, which show it to have been his daily companion. The bitterness of adversity was, however, no sooner past, than the deep-rooted habits of the scholar and statesman again predominated. The anecdotes preserved of his late conversations prove that in the tranquil portion of his varied life he again recurred to the cultivation of classic literature, and over the pages of Tacitus and Livy revived the memory of former greatness and past enterprises.

"Alberoni has been too generally judged by the exaggerated axiom of a great and successful minister, that misfortune is but another name for imprudence. While his friends have spared no endeavours to extenuate his faults and blazon forth his merits, his enemies have represented him as a wild and sanguine projector, guided by no object and impelled by no passion but an extravagant and restless ambition. Even historians have borrowed the prevailing tone of the times, when he fell a victim of personal and political animosity, and the character of this truly great statesman has been transmitted to posterity in colours of unmerited obloquy.

"Of his conduct in negotiation and war, let the reader judge from the authentic testimony of his rivals and contemporaries, collected in the preceding pages. That he was neither ignorant nor neglectful of internal policy, nor ill-advised in his plans for its improvement, will appear from a brief review of the regulations which took their rise under his ministry, though his power was of too short a duration to give them consistency and effect.

"We pass over his measures for raising supplies at the commencement of the war, as mere temporary expedients to meet an emergency which he could neither delay nor avert. But, still more provident for the future than solicitous for the present, he extended his views to a gradual and permanent amelioration in the whole system of the Spanish monarchy. He rooted out a contraband trade of great extent, which was carried on under the privilege enjoyed by the people of Biscay of trafficking with the fabrics and productions of their own province free of duty. To lessen the introduction of foreign manufactures, which had hitherto filled the markets to the detriment of those of Spain, he formed a new tariff of duties, abrogated many indulgences and established superintendents in the different ports to prevent abuses. He abolished one of the last remnants of the ancient division into separate kingdoms, by removing most of the custom-houses to the frontier, and restoring to full liberty the interior communication and traffic. But private considerations appear to have prevented

this change in the kingdom of Seville, where it was most wanted, as the great avenue of trade through Cadiz to the new world. At his suggestion likewise, the municipal taxes in the kingdom of Valencia were abolished, the royal monopoly of strong liquors commuted for a duty on the inland consumption of fish, and a free scope given to the export of wines, which had hitherto languished from the expense of conveyance and want of a demand. New regulations were also established for one of the most profitable branches of the royal revenue, the tobacco trade from the Havannah; arrangements were made to check the contraband traffic from the Canaries to America: finally a plan was formed to extend and improve the trade of the western shores of that continent by means of the Acapulco-ship, without detriment to the fabrics of the mother-country. It reflects no trifling honour on the firmness of the minister, to observe that many of these changes were introduced not merely in opposition to private interests and prejudices, but in some instances even to open rebellion.

"In conjunction with measures calculated to create a demand, others were adopted to lay the foundation of future manufactures. Attempts were made to introduce a fabric of crystals; an office was set up for printing religious books, hitherto drawn from Antwerp; a manufactory of woollens was established under the royal patronage at Guadalaxara, and another of fine linens, imitating those of Holland. For these purposes numerous Dutch families were drawn into Spain, and the necessary tools and utensils procured from England. To give proper encouragement to these infant establishments, the strictest injunctions were transmitted to the different intendants and governors to encourage the use of the native manufactures and produce, to restrain luxury in apparel, as the source of dependence on foreign nations, and to remove vagabonds and idlers. Lastly, as soon as the fabric at Guadalaxara had obtained consistency, a royal decree was issued that all the troops should in future be clothed with the manufacture of Spain.

"In conjunction with those arrangements, a plan was formed to ascertain the state, productions and resources of the kingdom, as the foundation of further improvements; intelligent engineers were despatched to survey the different provinces, with instructions which prove that no source of prosperity, however trifling, escaped the attention of the minister.

"Looking to the immediate instruments of national greatness and the security of national prosperity, the naval and military were no less important than the economical plans of Alberoni. He formed the design of rendering Cadiz one of the noblest ports of Europe, prepared to improve that of Ferrol; and in these, as well as in others of inferior importance, established docks, arsenals, fabrics of rigging and magazines. Within the short and troubled period of his administration, fourteen men-of-war were launched in the ports of the peninsula, an equal number was nearly completed; and the project was formed for constructing ships at the Havannah, which from the seasoning of the climate would be better adapted to the navigation of the American seas than those of Europe. To furnish a constant supply of intelligent and able officers, a seminary was founded at

Cadiz, intended for the reception of no less than 500 pupils, who were to be instructed in the theory and practice of navigation, and the appropriate branches of the abstruse sciences. He sought and encouraged officers of merit in every department, both of the navy and army. Lastly, he revived the foundry of artillery and the native fabrics of small arms, which had fallen almost into total inactivity; and he succeeded in emancipating the country from its dangerous dependence on foreign powers for the supplies of the various articles of naval and military equipment*."

Had Alberoni died soon after he was so solemnly reinstalled in all his honours, his name would be more respected than it now is; the rock on which he split was the Lilliputian republic of San Marino. In 1739 Alberoni was legate—that is governor-general—of Ravenna and its province, whither he had been sent chiefly to perfect some important hydraulic works, in which pope Clement XII. took great interest, for the advantage of that part of the pontifical states. Alberoni showed the remarkable talents which eminently fitted him for his place; and one of the gates as well as one of the best streets of Ravenna, called after his name, mark the sense which its inhabitants entertained of his merits. San Marino is surrounded by the legation of Ravenna, and, for some reason now uncertain, Alberoni took an interest in the liberation of two worthless fellows who had been imprisoned by the lawful authorities of the republic. His influence having failed, they were claimed by the ecclesiastical authorities as enjoying some privilege in their character of *patentees* (that is, serving under a patent) of the *Madonna di Loretto*,—a fact which was denied, as well as the right thereon founded by the ecclesiastics. Alberoni proceeded to violent extremes against the republicans, and had some of them who came within his jurisdiction arrested in retaliation. He wrote strong letters against the republic to the secretary of state, representing the inhabitants as heretics, and the state as a new *Geneva*. Through his representations of the tyranny of a few oligarchs and of the sufferings of the people, who were anxious to throw off an abominable yoke, he obtained at last the consent of the court of Rome to his receiving the allegiance of the republic, if the inhabitants freely, spontaneously and solemnly desired to give themselves up to the pope and to be received as his subjects.

* Coxe's Memoirs of the Kings of Spain of the House of Bourbon, ch. 30.

It must be remarked, that Alberoni's instructions were positive and peremptory. He was to accept their offer if free and unanimous, but he was forbidden to use any unfair means whatever to bring them under the temporal dominion of the church.

Flattering himself that the pope would approve whatever he did, and that the voice of the oppressed would be too weak to be noticed, he determined on crushing the little commonwealth. Instead of waiting *out* of their territory for the people or a majority of them to come to him, and freely give themselves up to the sovereignty of the pope, as he was especially ordered to do, he entered the state, and the mockery of a spontaneous surrender was gone through by a few vagabonds, *headed in every case by the priest of the parish*, cheering the legate and submitting themselves to the dominion of the see of Rome. In the evening a number of soldiers and *sbirri* (we call them *policemen*) went to San Marino by order of the legate, who had taken up his abode there and who thus endeavoured to legalize his odious conquest. And he would have succeeded, partly by threats, partly by cajolery, had not a solemn opportunity offered itself for the people to meet and, trusting in each other, freely express their real inclinations in a most unequivocal manner. There is no instance in modern history of so generous a burst of patriotism and love of freedom as that which was suddenly exhibited to the astonished legate by the men whom he thought he had intimidated.

Alberoni had entered the territory of the republic on Saturday the 17th of October, 1739, and on Sunday the 25th of the same month a *Te Deum* and high mass were to be sung to celebrate the happy union of San Marino with the States of the Church; at the same time a solemn oath of allegiance to the new sovereign was to be taken by the chiefs of the republic. The first person to whom the oath was put took it, but the second, one of the *Capitani*, Alfonso Giangi, said, "On the 1st of October [the day he entered on his office] I swore allegiance to the republic of San Marino, and so I do now." This startled the two who were to follow, who touched the book (equivalent to kissing it here) but said nothing. The fifth, Giuseppe Onofri, said, "If I am

“free to swear as I like, I confirm the oath I formerly took, “and swear allegiance to my beloved republic of San Marino.” These words were followed by cheers for San Marino. Girolamo Gozi, who was the next to be sworn, extending his arms, and pointing to the statue of the founder of the republic, exclaimed: “I shall never find it in my heart to insult that venerable head, but shall always say, San Marino for ever! Liberty for ever!” A priest who was singing part of the service in the orchestra shouted, “Liberty for ever!” and another priest, who was actually at the altar assisting the bishop in the performance of high mass, joined lustily in the generous cry, whilst the church rang with the cheers of the people. Two or three other gentlemen to whom the obnoxious oath was proposed, instead of taking it, swore like those who had preceded them; then, and not till then, Alberoni thought it better to yield.

The excitement of the people during these events was at its height; the ceremony was broken off and the cardinal retired unhurt, through the efforts of his soldiers and policemen. He tried to proceed to violence against some of the republicans; but having signally failed, he left the territory of San Marino under a governor of his own appointment and a municipal body whose members he had likewise named, and withdrew to Ravenna. These monstrous proceedings were soon exposed: petitions were forwarded to Rome, stating facts which all the dexterity and unscrupulousness of Alberoni could not controvert; it was evident that he had abused his power, in a manner that could neither be defended nor even palliated, against a few hundred inoffensive and contented people. With all the wish to screen a cardinal, the court of Rome could not leave unnoticed the deep indignation that was loudly and generally expressed even out of Italy against the papal agent. A commissioner of inquiry was sent to San Marino, notwithstanding Alberoni's remonstrances and appeal to the government for support. The commissioner, Enriquez, then a prelate and subsequently a cardinal, was compelled to report, that the whole population, even the nuns, were opposed to being incorporated with the States of the Church,—that all desired the old republic to be reinstated, which was done on the 5th of February, 1740. Ever since,

the 5th of February has been kept a holiday, and in 1840 the centenary of the recovery of their rights was celebrated by the republicans with extraordinary rejoicings. Alberoni was transferred from the legation of Ravenna to that of Bologna, to soothe his offended pride; but he never forgave either the pope or his minister. As soon as his legation at Bologna was over, in 1743, he issued a *manifesto* in justification of his conduct at San Marino, to which an answer was published which must have made him regret having revived the subject. The energy of his defence, and the obstinacy with which he persisted in it in his eightieth year, are characteristic of the man.

This affair of San Marino occupies several pages in M. Bignami's work, the title of which is prefixed to this article. As it is an "Elogio," every action of Alberoni is made the subject of unqualified praise, among the rest his conduct towards the little republic. This we should not think worth notice, nor should we make the slightest observation on the work itself, were it not that some passages in it are peculiarly amusing, if not instructive. The whole "Elogio" is written in a ludicrously turgid style, to which we never knew anything similar. Facts, assertions and opinions are given out without the slightest discrimination, deluged in a sea of bombast and pedantic illustrations which compel the gravest reader to irresistible laughter. After speaking of Alberoni's fall and of his acquittal by the pope, the enthusiasm of the writer suddenly breaks forth in the following exclamation:—"Rejoice, my Piacenza, at Giulio's most glorious, though tardy, reappearance on the political horizon to embellish thee with new trophies! Let Spain weep, who being forsaken by Giulio feels immediately her own prostration; but do thou celebrate with festivity the new and splendid exaltation of this great son of thine, who, had he remained on the Spanish ministerial chair, would not have poured out in thy motherly bosom his most remarkable bounties*." Such is the style of the whole work.

* No translation can give an idea of the exquisite bombast of the original, which we therefore transcribe:—"Deh ti rallegra, o mia Piacenza, con Giulio che alla fine più glorioso ricomparisce sopra il politico orizzonte, per farti bella di nuovi trofei. Pianga la Spagna che, da Giulio abbandonata, tosto risente la propria decadenza: ma tu giubilosa festeggia la nuova e splendida esaltazione di questo gran figlio, che, rimasto sull' Ibero seggio ministeriale, versate non avrebbe nel materno tuo seno le sue più segnalate beneficenze."—Page 86.

It is most provoking to know that Bignami had within his reach very curious unpublished or rare documents which would have been of invaluable assistance in writing a good life of Alberoni,—a desideratum highly important to be supplied,—had they fallen into the hands of an unpretending man of common sense.

The republic of San Marino, after having escaped unscathed through its ordeal, continued to exist in peace almost forgotten till the beginning of 1797, when Buonaparte made overtures to the poor republicans which would have eventually ended in the destruction of their independence, had they been less shrewd, just and moderate than they were. This period of their history is by far the most interesting and important; and had greater states and statesmen taken a lesson from the government of San Marino, they would have had no cause at a later period to repent of their greediness and dishonesty. The whole transaction is characteristic of the times, persons and circumstances, and its details are full of interest.

Buonaparte on arriving at Pesaro on the 10th of February, despatched the mathematician Monge as his commissioner to the republic of San Marino, "to assure this state of the fraternity and friendship of the French republic." Monge on the same day proceeded on his mission, and delivered a grand speech; beginning with Athens, going through Thebes, Rome and Florence, until he got to San Marino and thence to France. He told them that they were all free alike, complained of the hardships of war, praised the *Grande Nation*, her moderation and that of her armies, which had taken the trouble of entering Italy merely to conquer peace. After having offered the friendship of his government to that of San Marino, he added, "If there be any dispute about any point of your frontier, or even if any portion of the neighbouring territory, although you have no claim whatever to it, be absolutely necessary to you, I am directed by the general-in-chief to request you to inform him of it. He will have the greatest pleasure in affording the French republic an opportunity of giving you proofs of her sincere friendship." In its way this was one of the most profligate and tempting offers ever made. The government of San Marino replied on the 12th of February. They extolled French valour

and the wonderful deeds of Buonaparte, to whom they begged M. Monge to present their grateful thanks, but added that "the republic of San Marino, satisfied with her smallness, did not dare to accept the generous offer made to her, nor entertain ambitious views of aggrandizement, which might eventually compromise her liberty; that they should owe everything to the French republic and general if public happiness could be secured by extending the commercial intercourse of San Marino, on which that happiness was chiefly founded, and by such conventions as might insure the subsistence of the inhabitants." This meant, in plain terms, that if the French would allow them to export their wines and import corn and salt duty free, as the popes had uniformly done, they were quite satisfied. And so M. Monge went back with a special and particular request to help them in being allowed to buy corn. Buonaparte wrote from Modena on the 28th of February, informing them that he felt great interest in their welfare, that he had given orders that the inhabitants should be everywhere respected and exempt from taxes in the French territory, and that he had given directions that four field-pieces of cannon and 1500 *quintaux* (say 4500 bushels) of corn should be presented to the republic. What became of the cannons no one ever knew, except that they did not find their way to San Marino; and as to the corn, it was honourably paid for by the simple and honest republicans, whom the French could not even thus succeed in persuading to become receivers of stolen goods.

Of this conduct on the part of their government the inhabitants of San Marino have just reason to be proud; and if they continue to act in the same honest, inoffensive and prudent manner, their liberty and independence will be safe under the guarantee of the public opinion of Europe.

We shall now briefly lay before our readers the constitution and the leading principles of government of the republic. In the fourteenth century the practice then followed of calling together the whole people to settle public affairs was found inconvenient, and a *Gran Consiglio* was substituted, consisting of a certain number of members, who have occasionally been as many as eighty-six or as few as forty-five. Since 1740 the *Gran Consiglio* consists of sixty

members, twenty of the patrician order (a sort of nobility forming a separate caste was first acknowledged at San Marino in 1694), twenty citizens or burgesses, and twenty peasants. They are self-elected for life, and must not be under twenty-five years of age, nor are two ever nominated out of one family. In the Gran Consiglio resides the legislative authority, and in fact the sovereignty of the republic. The *Consiglietto* of twelve, who have a share in the executive, are chosen out of the Gran Consiglio, eight out of the twelve resigning office every year. The eight are ballotted for out of sixteen appointed by the Gran Consiglio. At the head of the executive are two *Capitani*, elected every six months (1st of April and 1st of October) by the Gran Consiglio, over which they preside, and which either of them has the power to call together. They are bound to give an account of their administration on going out of office, to which they are not re-eligible for the next three years. They are assisted by two secretaries of state, and the various branches of administration are superintended by several committees of the Gran Consiglio. All these duties are performed gratuitously, but the law is very severe if they be neglected. For instance, if the councillors do not go to council, they are fined the full sum of *five pence*, and the fine is ordered to be levied without mercy*. Affairs are brought before the great council by two orators (*arengatores*) who are to propose and second the motion, after which all the members may state their opinion; but no division is to take place if two members at least do not object to the motion. If any one talk and interrupt a speaker he is liable to a fine of *fourpence*. The discussions as well as the votes are secret, and forty members are requisite to form a House. An absolute majority of those present is sufficient to carry a motion or amendment †, except in cases of pardon, imposition of taxes, or approbation of public expenses, when three-fourths of the votes are requisite.

The treasury and exchequer of the republic are both managed by a paid secretary, under a committee. The yearly revenue amounts to nearly £1200 sterling, from a land-tax,

* "Cogantur de facto solvere pro pœna Paulum unum Papalem vel ejus valorem integrum absque aliqua diminutione."—*Stat. Reip. Sancti Mar.*, lib. i. rub. 7.

† If the votes be even, a new scrutiny or ballot is requisite.

from a kind of capitation-tax, and from some stamp and excise duties. The expenses average little more than half the revenue. There is a militia, consisting of half the male inhabitants between the ages of sixteen and fifty-five, and numbering it seems about 800 men. The affectation of aping powerful states by having regular troops, artillerymen, honorary officers of their army—among whom are the “Gran Capitano” Brizi and one of the Buonapartes—would only be ludicrous, were it not that such follies may one day prove the destruction of the republic. While armed, they are liable to be conquered under some fair or unfair pretext: if disarmed, they could only be oppressed by such an unprincipled abuse of force as would enlist the sympathies of all Europe in their favour. Their military officers, not born and not living within the territory of the republic, are only likely to cause jealousies and bickerings with the petty sovereigns of the states in which they live and where they were born. Two policemen and a population of honest men, ready to assist them in catching rogues and vagabonds, are all that is wanted. It is to be lamented that a collection of thief-takers should have been imported from Tuscany under the name and for the purposes of a Gendarmerie, and we confess we look with suspicion on any, even the slightest, reform at San Marino, which ought to be safe under the *ruggine* of time; like those small fragments of antiquity which are venerated when genuine and intact, but thrown away like rubbish when attempted to be improved by some modern charlatan.

Justice was, up to the seventeenth century, administered by the Capitani and Consiglietto, but in later times a kind of assessor has been appointed, before whom the parties appear when the Capitani cannot bring about a friendly arrangement as to civil affairs. This assessor is always a foreign barrister, who is appointed for three years only, and cannot be confirmed for more than three more; he is called *Commissario*. About six or seven civil and two or three criminal suits furnish him all the occupation he has. From his decision there is an appeal to the Gran Consiglio, who decide after having taken the opinion of two foreign barristers on the case. The laws of the republic are both the civil and canon law, as was generally the case in Italy to the end of the last century, mo-

dified by the local statutes, which were printed in 1600 and again in 1834. The criminal part of these statutes is no doubt detestable, but it is modified in practice, and in fact the punishments awarded are mild and humane, consisting of nothing more than temporary imprisonment without labour, and which can only be rendered *duller* by becoming *solitary* confinement, for want of a plurality of prisoners. At times the prisons are altogether untenanted, and on two distinct occasions they were found so by Brizi. On another occasion it happened that a stranger visiting San Marino wandered to the castle, in which are the prisons, and finding the gates wide open he entered, and asked a man who was gardening and whom he supposed to be the gaoler, where were the prisoners? The man answered, "I have been the only one for some time; the gaoler is gone out, and, as usual, has requested me to take care of the castle till he comes back." What reader will not join with us in wishing prosperity to such a republic? We say with all our heart, *Esto perpetua!*

ARTICLE IV.

1. *Œuvres de CHARLES NODIER.* Charpentier, 3^{ième} Edition, 1841.
2. *Franciscus Colonna, dernière nouvelle de CHARLES NODIER.* 1844.

THESE words, "the last," have a mournful tone, which, even when the talent is small and the loss light, add weight to both, and this was not the case here. We have lost in Charles Nodier one of the purest among French writers, one who never advocated an unworthy sentiment, however it might be his instinct to palliate errors when seen, in what was to him the holy light of misfortune. Historian, bibliographer, naturalist, so enthusiastic in his botanical researches, that one night in the Bois de Boulogne he was arrested as a suspicious individual while pursuing them by the light of a lantern, he failed in being more in one peculiar walk only because he

chose to belong to so many: a romance-writer and poet, he has tried 'each mode of the lyre,' and shown that in some he might have attained a prouder mastery, but that he went on like a child towards every ray that woo'd him, pursuing it through the forest where grew the plants he loved, and to the embers where the familiar spirit haunted Jeanie's hearth,—often to the human heart, touching a chord so simply and lightly that we wonder at our answering tears. If he excel rather in charm of detail than grandeur of ensemble, and his style in all its polish and perfection want energy, we find compensation in grace and tenderness and fancy; his hand was to what it drew as the microscopic glass to the butterfly's wing, showing a thousand radiant plumes where the unaided eye finds only dust. He had the art so rare in those of his calling (some of his friends named it the gift, it seemed so proper to his nature,) of being universally loved; there was nothing insipid in his indulgence, nothing bitter in his irony. No one has painted himself so truly in his works; it may be their defect, but it is also their charm, that they form an ever-recurring biography. The larger portion of his life was a brave struggle with poverty and troubled times; he found courage even in the improvidence which concealed from him the morrow, and in the fantasy which gilded the day. That his political opinions wanted stability is scarcely a fair reproach, considering the epoch in which he lived, so variously filled by the days of terror, the consulate, the empire, the restoration, the revolution of 1830; or if we leave it as a reproach, it sprang from a good quality, since he leaned always to the failing side. As he says himself, he was destined by some peculiarity of character all his life to uphold a desperate cause. He could find honey in even noxious flowers. We rise from the perusal of his works with such feeling as is left by the pressure of a friendly hand, the encouragement of a kind smile: they remind us of himself and his own, stretched out to assist and herald in every young triumph; rejoicing with those who rejoice, weeping with those who weep.

In his youth Charles Nodier must have been handsome: in his latter years he had contracted a stoop in his tall figure, and his features were meagre to a degree which betrayed suffering; but his brow was open and still hardly wrinkled, and

his eye and countenance, though they were weary and pallid, and their habitual expression melancholy and resigned, lighted up at times with the enthusiasm which, surviving through all fortunes, left him young to the last. He was born in 1780 or 1781 (he himself was not quite certain of the date), at Besançon, in Franche Comté, where his father, a distinguished lawyer, was the second constitutional mayor and president of the revolutionary tribunal. He was for a time the boy's only preceptor, and found it advisable to restrain rather than prompt a passion for learning, which was joined to extreme delicacy of constitution. When his books were taken from him, Nodier wrote rhymes and sketched comedies. His childish sympathies must have been with the Revolution, owing to the post his father occupied and the persons by whom he was surrounded; at ten or eleven years old he made speeches at the club, but fortunately for him this situation brought correctives along with it, which, working on a warm-hearted and imaginative boy, were never forgotten. In 1793 the Mountain was triumphant, and expedited its proconsuls into every department. The deputy who arrived at Besançon had formerly been curé of the church of St. Louis at Versailles, and was a man who united great facility of elocution with some distinction of appearance and manner. He had just married a beautiful and high-born woman, an aristocrat whom he had thus saved from proscription; such, at least, Nodier believed to have been the motive of his marriage. She never mingled in the new and strange society with which she thus came in contact, living in solitude in her own apartments, and visiting those of the *cité* only to solicit in favour of the proscribed. She was often successful, and had thus won from the people the name of 'Our Lady of Mercy.' To the boy she was peculiarly kind. Bassal himself affected in words a violence he did not feel, that he might practise without peril the moderation otherwise dangerous. Returning from an excursion into the country with Championnet and young Nodier, Monsieur and Madame Bassal found before their hotel an agitated mob shouting rage and vengeance. A special courier had just arrived, bearing the news of Marat's death by the hand of Charlotte Corday. Bassal, while his audience lingered, louder than any in his grief for the wise and divine Marat, became

himself again when he was left to its indulgence. He warned however Madame Bassal, as she retired with young Charles to her own chamber, to seal his lips and her own, since all their lives might hang on a word. A few days after young Nodier stood by Madame Bassal's side, to witness that mockery of a funeral which was repeated in various parts of France at the time when the carrion, too vile to be cast to dogs, was deified at the Pantheon. The painter David had sketched the ornaments to be employed, and set down the order of procession. Nodier graphically describes the howling crowd which staggered drunkenly forward, mingling obscene imprecations with the beat of the muffled drums; the coffin and hearse replaced by a kind of oblong vessel, simulating the bath wherein Marat from time to time sought a trifling relief from the hideous leprosy which devoured him; a bloody sheet falling over it, and sweeping on all sides the filth of the streets, except where it was looped up at one spot to allow a livid arm to escape, a withered mutilated limb borrowed for the purpose from a dissecting-room:—

“Neither in barbarian sacrifices,” says Nodier, “nor in the impious refinements of the most cruel executions, can be fancied any object capable of exciting to the same degree, disgust, horror and fear. Behind the ferocious bearers of this repulsive mummery, between two rows of soldiers, came, the bonnet rouge on their heads and crape on their arms, the qualified citizens of Besançon, magistrates, judges, revolutionary committees, jacobins, deputies, and lastly the townspeople. All this rabble paused in a church which happily had been profaned before.”

The President Nodier, Charles's father, was rigid, though not cruel; but however he might avoid to condemn wherever the law was not precise, he believed it his duty to exert its fullest rigour when it was otherwise. It was therefore fortunate for his young son that an old friend of the family, Monsieur de Chantrans, whom he mentions in his charming tale of Seraphine, was a noble of the ancient regime, erudite and pious, whose principles were likely to modify the Spartan sternness inculcated by his father. He was at this time more commonly called the citizen Justin, after the name of his patron saint, since the Revolution had robbed him of that of his family; he was an old officer of engineers who had spent his life in scientific studies and his fortune in good works: “he

"would have reminded you," said Nodier, "of Plato, Fénelon or Malesherbes, but I compare him to no one; comparisons would do him an injury." In consequence of the law which forbade any of noble blood to reside in fortified towns, Monsieur de Chantrans inhabited the château of Novilars, about two leagues from Besançon; the President, at first rather jealous of the attachment of Charles to his old friend, seeing his extreme sorrow for his loss, allowed him to devote his time between them both. The old officer taught him the first principles of mathematics, a study for which he showed little predilection, and botany, in which he soon became a proficient. In his charming '*Souvenirs de Jeunesse*,' which recall to us his early days, not exactly as real memories but seen vague and shining like rainbows in dreams, he describes the happy mornings occupied by his botanical researches either in his old friend's company or in solitary explorings in quest of plants and bright insects among the bouquets of birch and willow near the water-side, along the path through the copse and up the mountain. We will transcribe one page for such reader as may find its echo in himself.

"I had an enjoyment I can no longer express in all these, but in nothing so much as in my own existence. All the soul's most hidden raptures have been noted down. I regret that no one has described the immense luxury which fills a heart of twelve years formed by some education and much feeling to a knowledge of the living world, and taking possession of it as of a birthright on a fine spring morning. It is thus Adam must have looked on the world made for him when he woke from the sleep of a child to the breath of his Creator. How beautiful the earth appeared to me! How I held in my breath to listen to the air in the woods and the sound of the stream! How I loved the chirping of the birds under the leaves and the buzzing of the bees round the flowers! And I was there like one of themselves, caressing with my glance the flowers they caressed, and calling them by their names, for I knew all their names, whether they were rounded like trembling parasols or expanded like vases or drooping like bells, or enamelling the grass like small stars dropped from the sky. My hair loose to the wind, I ran as if to feel with more certainty my being and my freedom, I fathomed the thickets, I leaped the ditches, I climbed the ascents, I bounded, I shouted, I laughed, I cried for joy; and then I sank down in a delicious weariness, I rolled on the embalmed and elastic greensward, I intoxicated myself with its emanations, and as I lay there, embracing the blue horizon with a look devoid of envy, said, with the conviction which never returns more, 'You are not purer and more peaceful than myself,'—and it was I who said this."

From this calm and quiet life young Nodier, by his father's will, was suddenly transported to the neighbourhood of Euloge Schneider, the unfrocked capucin, who in cruelty and carnage had probably only Carrier of Nantes for a rival. As the President Nodier was himself an admirable classic scholar, and Charles, so early as at ten years of age, could read the difficult Latin authors, his anxiety turned to the prosecution of his Greek studies. He corresponded on subjects of ancient literature with this same Euloge Schneider, since so fearfully celebrated, and who, first a monk of Cologne, had afterwards become grand vicar of the constitutional bishop of Strasburg and the learned editor of a German Anacreon. The Abbé Schneider offered his services for the instruction of young Nodier, and, these being accepted by his father, he departed for Strasburg. Young as he was, his precocious intellect and the influence of the time, which taught attention and reflection to childhood, made him a fit observer. These early days, as well as those spent with Pichegru who loved him, and which left on Nodier's mind the impression which made him so warmly his partisan, are recorded in the volumes of '*Souvenirs de la Révolution.*' Wherever Nodier has said positively, "I was present, I saw such a thing at that time," "I claim merit for only veracity, and my memory is a source of wonder only to those who are devoid of any," we cannot doubt his accuracy. He has often, however, taken pleasure in mingling facts with fancy; selecting an imaginary name, and endowing its bearer with his own qualities and his own adventures, changed or enlarged on, according to the whim of the hour. Some readers may thus have mistaken and failed to forgive him their own inadvertency. He speaks of these '*Souvenirs*' with the modesty which in him was so real: "They were gathered together without order and written without method; but what a picture they would have been in the hands of great writers who are also great painters,—Walter Scott, Victor Hugo, Alfred de Vigny!" From among them we extract that which bears the name of Euloge Schneider; at the period to which it refers Charles was twelve years old, and had just quitted Monsieur de Chantrans and Besançon.

"It was dark when I arrived. The largest town then known to me was

that where I was born. Tormented by my ungovernable impatience, as soon as day broke I issued forth into the solitary streets, astonished at everything, admiring everything, and struck above all with a sort of ecstasy before the magnificent cathedral, which the old world would have counted among its wonders. I had seen in my life nothing resembling the choir of saints and angels which embraced it with myriads of figures, and seemed rising thence to the heights of the celestial Jerusalem, piercing through the rich embroideries and transparent lacework of its miraculous architecture. I was roused from my contemplation by a noise produced by the stroke of a hammer, and I saw the head of a saint roll to my feet. Another blow sounded, and what fell was the bust of the Virgin embracing her son. I sought to discover whence it came, and perceived a man perched above the portal on the shoulders of a gigantic apostle, and striking right and left with fearful imprecations at these gothic portraitures of the elect of the Lord. The people had gathered by degrees and formed agitated groups, whence proceeded bursts of laughter, sombre vociferations and stifled murmurs. I was long in comprehending a frenzy which had not yet reached the foot of Mount Jura. It was nine o'clock when I thought I might present myself at the house of Citizen Schneider. Madame Teutch, my hostess at the Lanterne, had told me it was thus I must call him; that he was no longer 'Abbé,' but reporter of the *extraordinary revolutionary commission* for the Lower Rhine, and that, child as I was, he was capable of putting me to death if I forgot the *tutoiement* while speaking to him. I had conned this lesson over in my mind during an hour's walk on the Breuil, regretting, to speak the truth, the necessity of beginning my new studies thus, and that I could not without such preamble arrive at the first page of 'Clenard's Institutions.' I ascended three steps,—I knocked at a little narrow door,—an old and sour-looking female servant came grumbling to open it, and introduce me to the presence of Citizen Schneider, that is to say, to the dining-parlour, where I was to await him. This room was very decent, though its wainscotting was formed of mere planks with plain mouldings, neither stained nor polished. Its only ornament consisted of two long sabres hung crosswise. Breakfast was on the table. There was a dish of oysters, '*rara concha in terris*,' a plate of anchovies, a jar of olives and a jug of beer. Citizen Schneider laid his pistols on the table and seated himself, after having rather sternly bowed to me. I approached him, and delivered my father's letter. At the second line he held out his hand, addressing me in I know not what Greek phrase, to which I replied by saying I had not yet the happiness of knowing a word of Greek; he then invited me to breakfast, and when I declined, to dinner. I had no pretext for refusing; I should nevertheless have preferred dining with Madame Teutch. The old woman-servant returned, bringing him the German papers, a lamp, a tobacco-box and a pipe. He lighted the pipe, and filled before me a glass of beer, which I thought myself obliged to empty. While he examined the newspapers I might have drawn him if I had been an artist. Euloge Schneider had not always borne this academical appellation, which signifies 'accomplished speaker,' or 'witty scholar.' The erudite knew him other-

wise. He had adopted it the better to shut out the recollection of his monastic life, and enter the world as a layman privileged by this talking nickname, which was not wanting in vanity. He was a man of about thirty-five, ugly, fat, short and common-looking, with a round head, round limbs and round shoulders. What was most remarkable in his orbicular face of a livid gray, spotted here and there with patches of red and seamed with small-pox, was the contrast of his close-cut black hair with the brown and shaggy brows, from under which sparkled two fiery eyes shaded by reddish lashes. Endowed with a wondrous aptitude for learning and a turn of mind all sarcasm, which I have almost always found accompanying cruelty, he had nothing which may soften or attach the heart; and I believe that this observation may contain the solution of a grand problem,—‘The wicked are the unhappily organized, who cannot be beloved.’ When I call him to mind, such as I saw him, overawing the small number so learned as to be capable of appreciating him, but for all besides so wanting in sympathies, so uncouth in manner, so repulsive of exterior, I ask myself with surprise, by what authority this man could during six months balance the omnipotence of St. Just, oppress a vast and strong province, menace the Convention and disquiet the Republic. I was the more punctual because I dreaded the dinner. Madame Teutch recommended exactness while she embraced me, and she embraced me very willingly, because she said I resembled a girl in disguise. This was the first banquet in my life at which, with the exception of my own, there did not rise above the cloth a single head not cut off afterwards. Since then the same thing has happened to me twice or thrice, as it did to every one. The names of Schneider’s guests were Edelman, Young and Monnet.

“Edelman would claim a place in biography, even had the Revolution forgotten to inscribe him on her bloody register. In many respects mal-organized, he was formed for the arts. The present generation may have admired at the theatre his fine music of ‘*Ariadne in the Island of Naxos*,’ and in certain religious chants I had heard him lauded as Gossee’s equal. He was a little man, with a sad, spare face. His round, slouched hat, his immoveable spectacles, his plain dress strictly clean, closed with brass buttons to the chin, his manner of speaking, coldly sedate and phlegmatically sententious, composed an ensemble of very little attraction, but which was not positively repulsive. United to Dietrich by a long intimacy, founded probably on their common passion for music, he became one of his first and fiercest accusers. I remembered having heard him say with terrific calmness, while deposing against the famous Mayor of Strasburg before the criminal tribunal of Besançon, ‘I could weep for you because you are my friend, but you must die because you are a traitor.’

“Young was a poor shoemaker, but this poor shoemaker was by no means a common man. Nature had made him a poet, and his heavy countenance with its massive features, which seemed only rough-hewn, crowned with stiff black hair, which some vulgar pommade bristled in rude tufts, lighted up with a peculiar inspiration when he recited his odes and satires. He composed only in German, but he knew Greek and Latin, and

whenever one of his pieces presented an allusion to a passage celebrated in the classics, he never failed to quote it as an illustration at the close of his reading. It is almost needless to say that all his inspirations sprung from contemporary events, and that he probably would have been incapable of finding them elsewhere. In these violent and passionate but simple souls, the contemplation of liberty had absorbed all other thoughts. If the definition of monomania, so convenient now, had been invented at that time, it might have applied to the sincere revolutionists, men of feeling and conscience, who, devoid of self-interest and ambition, blindly devoted themselves to extravagant and fatal theories. I do not speak of the others.

"I have said that the name of the third was Monnet. This last was well known to me, and the meeting him there was a sort of happiness, for in my childhood I have seen few men who possessed more the qualities which make men beloved. In his youth Monnet had been a grenadier. At five-and-twenty he turned priest, and became *préfet* of the College of Besançon shortly before its suppression. The Revolution, which surprised him at twenty-eight, gave him back his liberty, which he probably deplored the having alienated, and therefore the Revolution found him grateful. He was tall, handsome, well-formed, though he stooped slightly, full of mildness and politeness, and I know not what melancholy grace which bound one to him. His countenance seemed marked by a sinister foreboding. He did not smile without bitterness. If this vision of the past,—more vivid, more present than the present itself to a man who lives only in the past,—does not deceive my memory, there was some mournful mystery in his heart, something of defiance and terror in his look. His joy at seeing me again annoyed me, as if I had understood it was the last he would feel. I believe he had made himself suspicious to the more exaggerated of our common province by a generous leaning to moderation, and that it was this which decided him to seek in a town where he should be less known a new political character, or, if you will, a shelter from the danger of his innocence. This step had destroyed him. At Strasburg he had not cast himself into the extreme party, whose excesses he naturally held in horror, he had fallen into it unawares, and this was what I felt without distinctly understanding. One must be more than twelve years old to guess how weakness may contract an involuntary partnership with fury,—how timidity may become the auxiliary of madness or the accomplice of crime. It has since reminded me of the stone saints of the cathedral, mutilated by the populace, to whom they furnished arms to crush their victims. Saints of flesh and blood thus became instruments of death in the terrible hand of the Revolution. Ideas such as these rose in my mind vaguely while the conversation revealed to me by degrees the fearful passions of that ill-starred generation. In fact I have since understood that circumstances are stronger than character; that if certain men have ground nations in their passage, it is because they were themselves urged forward by a power not less irresistible than that which tears the volcano and precipitates the cataract. In a nation which has worn or broken asunder the bond of its accustomed laws, it is with each individual as with the entire mass,—he rushes on and on, not knowing whither. I took little part in

that formidable exchange of thoughts of death, wherein everyone bore a personal interest, and which were then of defensive right; but, as Edelman would have said, it strung my mind to an extraordinary key. This alternative of dying or dooming to die, this question of reciprocal assassination, became a pressing dilemma whose solution might be found on the morrow; this horrible lottery of heads, where the doubtful chances were coldly balanced, and wherein each speaker had a stake, yet seeing and speaking, and full of life,—it was execrable to think on! The dinner was extremely gay. I could gather from a conversation, to me so extraordinary, that the revolutionists of Strasburg were divided under two banners; the one that of the *new statesmen*, represented in the National Convention by Robespierre, and in the department of the Lower Rhine by St. Just. Who would not shudder now to think that Robespierre and St. Just were moderate in the eyes of some men? The other flag was borne by Schneider, whom a logic of extermination, which far outwent the blind and stupid doctrine of Marat, urged to the last limits of this anti-social fanaticism. The moderate,—I must repeat, this meant St. Just,—at least affected great austerity of life, and the capucin of Cologne was a votary of mirth and sensuality. The first played the stoic, the second the epicurean and cynic. Beneath these two powers, the one fearing the other, palpitated Alsace, terrified at both. As the Revolution had two high-priests at Strasburg, so had she also two temples consecrated to her formidable mysteries: the ‘*Société Populaire*,’ purified by St. Just, and the ‘*Propagande*’ of Schneider. This last shade was unknown even in Paris. The Cordeliers have been seen to dispute power with the Feuillants, the Jacobins to triumph over Feuillants and Cordeliers, but no one there thought of outdoing the Jacobins. The mainspring of the Propagande was too soon broken for this to be possible. The first lesson I received from my Greek professor was the command not to visit this Popular Society, infected with the dangerous principles of constitutional moderation. Young insisted on the necessity of imbuing me with the precious teachings of the Propagande, and supported this opinion by reciting four lines of one of his odes, which Schneider made haste to translate for my benefit, and which have lain unchanged in my memory; it is easy to understand wherefore.

‘The very child must learn to quit his mother’s coward breast,
More joyfully on tyrants’ graves than in his cradle rest;
And human bones and shiver’d sceptres must his playthings be,
The while he sucks the hero-milk, the bloody milk of liberty.’

“This advice was the more earnestly given, as Citizen Schneider was about to leave me for a long time abandoned to my own guidance and the care of Madame Teutch. The trumpets of Pichegru, who reconquered our frontiers at a run, and freed the country from its external enemies in the time physically needful for their flight or death, left it unfortunately open to other foes more dangerous to liberty than all the kings of the coalition. Schneider departed the following day, accompanied by his hussars of death, to promenade from village to village a travelling guillotine, wherewith to exercise the national vengeance on those unfortunate creatures who had

allowed themselves to be pillaged by the Austrians. The absence might be a long one, for the number of the proscribed was left to the discretion of the judge. I remained alone. The next morning, a little after ten o'clock, I crossed the Place d'Armes : there stood at the end of this long place, beside the Maison Rouge, a scaffolding of a singular form, whose use I quickly comprehended. A poor old woman of eighty had just been beheaded there, convicted by her own avowal of having given bread to a famishing Austrian. The executioner was raising the bloody knife to its place—the drum rolled—and I fled when I saw the Propagande coming. I followed mechanically. It was a strange thing that Propagande, made up of the virile energies of the time. Of the attributes of youth it had preserved some grace and elegance : several of its members were even distinguished by a certain tastefulness of costume : they wore a short neat vest, bound round the waist by a tricoloured sash, furnished with excellent arms, and to which was suspended a broad hunting-knife : the bonnet rouge, casting its phrygian shade on a forehead crowned with rich curled hair, which rolled on either side on their shoulders, was not wanting in charm : their bare throats, their heavy pistols, with their glittering pommels, their short boots of unstained leather, the ensemble of their physiognomy, breathing a calm which in these decisive days might pass for courage,—the chances of death which followed them so closely, and which I had learned but the night before,—it needed not so much to excite some sympathetic curiosity in the heart of a child. They reached the foot of that horrible scaffold, traversing the crowd, which dispersed in fear of being compromised. The orator kneeled down, rose again, and then turned towards us, spoke his thanks and a panegyric to the guillotine in the name of liberty, with a choice of expressions so gracefully fearful, so desperately anacreontic, that I felt the cold drops roll on my forehead and eyelids. I would fain forget all that is dark in my recollections, but it is my recollections which I write, and I have not yet been able to wipe out thence that fanatical procession of the Propagande, with the executioner for pontiff and the guillotine for *reposoir*. This took place in Frimaire, between the second and the fifth or sixth of December, and I was to see Schneider but once more. I asked no questions respecting the journey of which biographies recall such horrible circumstances as we might willingly consign to the tales of goule and vampire, but which St. Just gathered from every tongue, and had some interest in not attenuating. Determined to write only what I saw, I do but borrow a fact from report when it coincides with my own impressions, and explains or develops that which is imperfectly noted down in my memory. It would seem that this fatal excursion completed the ruin of his intellect, and drove him raving mad with the drunkenness of power, like Mazaniello. I know not what truth there may be in the taxes collected in human heads, which it was said he levied in some villages, and which was the pretext for his condemnation before Fouquier's tribunal. What appears certain is the event which caused his downfall, and which I will tell with more brevity than this long exordium promises, because I tell it on the evidence of hearsay almost unanimous, but still on

that evidence only; that is to say, following perceptions which are not mine, and which I know not how to describe. I was to reappear as a spectator before this frightful drama only at its violent change. One thing which will seem hard to believe is, that the formidable logic of Schneider, even urged to its utmost extreme, had failed to satisfy the exigencies of some minds rebellious to conviction, and which reckoned every guarantee as worthless in a man who wanted one. The almost military uniform of the Commissaire Rapporteur made men forget neither the capucin's frock nor the abbé's gown, and the monk of Cologne often harmed the popularity of the dictator of Strasburg. A voice uplifted amid the 'Popular Society' of Brumpt, in the course of one of the tragic excursions of which I have spoken, did not fear to remind Schneider of the infamous stain of priesthood which made him irremediably suspicious in the eyes of the friends of freedom, and to advise him to an act which at least would solemnly consecrate his apostacy. Schneider was not married; his outrageously libertine habits suited ill with the obligations of a chaste and legitimate engagement, and to decide him to submit to it there was needed nothing less than the interest of this popularity of blood and cynism to which he had already offered so many sacrifices. In this case he had no other mode of replying to the terrible argument opposed to him, and the love of money might perhaps have contributed to vanquish the instinct of debauch and independence which had swayed him hitherto. His choice fell on a young lady of Brumpt, who united the possession of an immense fortune to every gift of mind and person: she was the daughter of an aristocrat, then on his trial, and Schneider had remarked her in the crowd of supplicants who every day inundated the judgement-hall. The next morning the warrant for the liberty of the accused was signed, and as a singular postscript to such a paper, the proconsul gave notice he should that day ask a seat at his dinner-table. The young girl was not at the banquet. In most of the rural communes of Alsace and the adjoining provinces it was then the custom that women should not appear, and her father had not thought fit to infringe it that day. Schneider demanded her presence and was obeyed. At first he piqued himself on wit and graceful politeness, qualities he was not wanting in, but came without much circumlocution to the object of his visit. His well-known mode of reasoning dispensed him from any laborious search for forms of oratory: the man who held the sword suspended over a people had no need to envelope himself in the humble circumlocutions of rhetoric. He demanded the hand of his fair hostess, as if he could have pretended to it by the right of love and without infringing on any rules of propriety: without waiting a reply he approached the window, opened it, and cast a look of satisfaction on the Place, seeing there the preparations he had ordered.

"After having hoisted in various parts of the town its two posts, shadowed by tricoloured plumes and decorated with knots of ribbon, the guillotine had been raised there for the first time. Its aspect shot a horrible light to the heart of the unhappy object of Schneider's preference. She fell at her father's feet, imploring him to grant her for her husband

the benevolent man to whom he owed life, and calling heaven to witness that she would rise up only when her prayer was granted. 'But,' she said to Schneider, 'I demand of your tenderness one of those favours which are never refused a bride. It is not at Brumpt that the first of our citizens must bestow his name on me. I must be recognized for Schneider's wife, and not mistaken for his concubine. There is no town,' she added with a smile, 'to which you have not been followed by a mistress; the mistake might be easily made. The distance hence to Strasburg is but three leagues: I have arrangements to make for my wedding toilet which must be worthy of you: to-morrow, at the hour you choose, we will go alone or accompanied, as you will. I will give you my hand there, before the citizens, generals and representatives.' These words, rendered more seductive by the coquettish elocution and the piquant physiognomy of an Alsatian girl, and accompanied, it is said, by some slight caresses, left Schneider without the possibility of an objection. Nevertheless the house was watched the whole night, but no one had thought of quitting it, and when he arrived on the morrow it was hung with drapery from top to bottom and presented all the appearance of a festival. The bride descended in her most splendid attire, and came to offer him her hand on the threshold of the ground-floor parlour, where tea and coffee are commonly served. A superb breakfast was prepared there. Though giddy with joy and pride, Schneider thought only of abridging it. The gates of Strasburg closed then at three o'clock and time pressed: he must profit by what remained to reply by signs of *éclat* and power to the profusion of his new family and the pretensions of his bride. A courier was despatched to Strasburg, forbidding to shut the gates before four. It is true that the enemy was in full retreat, and Strasburg no longer threatened; but the decrees of St. Just, which carried with them the force of law during the Austro-Prussian invasion, were not revoked, and there was one which imposed the pain of death for delaying to close them: Schneider himself had put it in execution.

"It was at the latest half-past three on the 21st of December, when a noisy crowd spread itself over the broadest street of Strasburg and paused beneath St. Just's balcony. There were then two sights which might equally divide the observer's attention,—that theatre whereon the drama of Brumpt was being acted, and that tribune where it was about to be judged. Schneider was preceded by four runners, habited in the national colours: his carriage—open, though the weather was doubtful,—was drawn by six splendid horses: he occupied it alone with his bride, dazzling in her attire and confident of look and manner. Round him pranced proudly and with sabres bare the picked horsemen of his escort, bearing the death's-head on swordbelt, sabretache and schako, and more than usually hideous in their unaccustomed gaiety. Behind all this thundered heavily over the pavement a kind of car, with four broad wheels, low and narrow, painted red, drawn by two horses, bedizened and covered with ribbons, and laid on which shook up and down two long red planks with their red traverse. This apparatus was accompanied by two men on horseback in black frocks, and whose bonnet rouge was ornamented by a broad cockade: it was followed

by a little carriage on which was seated a pale, thin, serious man, on whom every eye turned. Yet that was not Schneider. A faint murmur, which was soon echoed to a distance, announced that Saint Just was about to appear on the balcony. There was a sort of solemn abruptness in his manner; he did not seek the homage of the people, but repressed it, on the contrary, by a kind of dry and absolute gesture. His thick hair powdered to a snow-white above his black meeting brows, his head placed perpendicularly on his high and ample cravat, the dignity of his small stature, the elegance of his plain dress, never failed in their effect on the multitude. He signed that the procession should pause, and it did so. The representative of the people had just heard of the violation of his orders, and this was probably the motive of the anger which sparkled in his bright and piercing eye; but this feeling, however uncontrollable in his heart, for a moment gave place to surprise, as he perceived beside Schneider a young girl dressed as a bride. Profiting by the moment in which she excited his attention, she sprang from the carriage and fell on her knees on the pavement. 'Justice!' she exclaimed, 'justice, citizen! I appeal to Saint Just and the Convention!' She then recited, in words few but eloquent, the horrible abuse of power of the tyrant of Alsace. 'Is this true?' said Saint Just, pressing his hand to his forehead,—'can this be true?' All were agreed as to the facts, not excepting the man in the little carriage, whom his cordial intimacy with Schneider rendered an important witness, and who declared he had received the order to hold himself ready for the execution of the young frau's father if he had refused his consent to the marriage. Saint Just did not speak, or at most he murmured a few confused words in a low voice, 'He is unmasked then, the execrable capucin of Cologne!' and then he gnawed his clenched fists and struck repeated blows on the bar of his balcony. 'What would you have done,' he said at last to the bride, 'had you found me indisposed to do you justice?'—'I would have killed him tonight in his bed,' she answered, showing a dagger concealed in her stays; 'now I ask your pardon for him.'—'Pardon!' exclaimed Saint Just, whose fury this word roused; 'pardon for the capucin of Cologne! To the guillotine with him!' he continued, with a burst of passion inconceivable in so measured and precise a character. 'Away with him to the guillotine!'—'Shall I cut off the head?' respectfully inquired the thin man of the little carriage.—'I have no right to command it,' answered Saint Just, trembling with rage. 'To the punishment the monster invented! bind him to the guillotine till fresh orders.'—In fact, Schneider had invented this exposure on the permanent instrument of death for the few cases which in revolutionary legislation did not necessarily involve capital punishment. It was remembered in Strasburg, that a merchant had passed thus sixteen hours. As I stood too far removed from what was passing to distinguish its details, and as the crowd translated these in German, I bore away with me no very distinct idea of the event which had taken place. I had passed some minutes on the Breuil, whose sadness in this rigorous season already suited my childish reveries, and was turning my steps towards the hotel of Madame Teutch, when,

issuing from the passage of the Pomme du Pin, I found myself drawn along by a fresh crowd, which was soon swollen by the whole population of Strasburg, and which overflowed like a torrent on the Place d'Armes, rolling towards the scaffold. Again, for a moment, it contracted itself to make way for something terrible. It was Schneider, held on either side by the two assistants of the executioner in black frocks, who a moment before had served himself for valets, preceded by the pale man whom I had seen in the little carriage, and followed by two of his hussars of death, who pricked him, laughing all the while, with the points of their sabres, to make him move forward. I shook with pity and horror, but I could not even turn aside to avoid the sight. Fortunately, I believe he did not see me. His small eyes seemed melted in their orbits; his paleness was fearful, and yet he wiped the sweat from his forehead. As he approached nearer the guillotine the acclamations doubled in violence and seemingly in triumph, for I heard without understanding them. Soon there was a deep silence, and I comprehended that Schneider ascended the scaffold, but I did not know whether it was to die, and none of my neighbours could explain, because there was not one who spoke French. After this, peals of applause succeeded each other and were broken by fearful pauses. There arose menacing cries, and then came a lapse of silent expectation, and then an exulting burst, and each time I thought that his head fell, and I raised myself on tiptoe to seek to see the summit of the instrument of death, and assure myself that the knife was still suspended; and I was relieved to see at the very top the bloody steel whose aspect had so terrified me before. The efforts I made to depart, and also, I believe, the swaying of that mass of people, drunken with fury and joy, brought me nearer a volunteer from some southern province, who towered over the multitude by the whole head, and who therefore thought himself obliged to communicate afar the minutiae of this cruel ceremony. 'They have taken off his cockade,' he shouted,—'respect to the national colours. They have lifted off his hat—respect to the people. They make him lay by his coat. Why so? Because it is a military coat. And the rain falls so cold—it is sleet; it penetrates him like needles, only see how he shakes; truly it would be doing him a service to guillotine him directly.'—He had scarce ceased speaking when an universal cry rose. 'What does that mean?' I said to one of my new neighbours.—'That means under the knife,' he answered. I knew the voice—I looked—it was Monnet. 'Oh, Monsieur Monnet,' I exclaimed.—'Hush!' he said, placing a finger on his mouth.—'Will they kill him?'—'No,' said Monnet, 'here are horsemen coming and the executioner descends; it is put off to another time.'—The crowd dispersed, following a postchaise which Saint Just had just sent and which conducted Schneider to Paris under good and safe escort. Monnet took me by the hand and said, 'The delusion of power has made Schneider raving mad. He is a monster, but from this will be drawn inductions fatal to true republicans. Saint Just has triumphed, and liberty succumbs to benefit a traitor. Say this to your father.' He embraced and left me. The following night Schneider's accomplices were arrested, and, like Schneider, transferred to the revolutionary tribunal of Paris. Euloge

Schneider of Vipefeld was beheaded the 12th of Germinal of the year 2 (1st of April 1794), convicted of having, by 'concussions and vexations immoral and cruel, by the most revolting and sanguinary abuses of the name and powers of a revolutionary commission, oppressed, robbed, assassinated, ravished the honour, fortune and tranquillity of peaceable families.' These are the terms of the sentence. Young, Edelman and my poor Monnet died on the same scaffold the following days."

We are sorry to want room for Pichegru's portrait, with his hard work and self-denial, and the sketch of the letters he received from Rose the mantua-maker, the object of his early attachment, and, according to her biographer, "mediocrement jolie," but too independent to receive presents from the general-in-chief, preferring to continue to cut out so many gowns for Madame la Préfette, so many more for Madame la Mairesse, and writing him an account of her increasing business. Nodier mentions indeed one exception, a gift wherewith he was charged for her on Pichegru's part,—a handsome umbrella! To Pichegru's apology Nodier has elsewhere consecrated a longer article, denying the evidence of the printer Fauche-Borel as a noted liar, and the participation of Pichegru in any plot previous to his exile to Cayenne and his escape to England. Pichegru had seen and loved young Charles, for whom, in turn, his name rose blended with all the fond recollections of boyhood. He presided over the club of Besançon, when a battalion of volunteers from the department of the Gard, arriving there without a leader, chose him, as already experienced, for their officer, and prepared his way to other triumphs, as also to the death which Nodier believes to have been a suicide.

Nodier's studies thus violently interrupted, and his health suffering from the mental shocks he had received, he returned home after some brief interval; for in the month of May, 1794, we find him again beside his father at Besançon, when the younger Robespierre was dispatched thither on a mission in company of Bernard de Saintes. It was thence he addressed to his brother the remarkable letter in which he mentions that Bernard had denounced him as *counter-revolutionary*, after the act which so astonished Besançon, of setting free eight hundred persons imprisoned for opinion. In this epistle he boasts of "defending innocence" and making "the Mountain be adored," and warns to beware of "a system

“which will disorganize universally, since it tends to universal “levelling.” His house was, in fact, besieged by the relatives and friends of those he had saved, who came to decorate it with flowers and ribbons. It was dating from this moment that the elder Robespierre disappeared from the committees of the Convention, and three months later that his festival “à l’Être suprême” was the first step towards re-introducing religion into an atheistical state of society. Within five months he mounted the scaffold. Nodier does not defend the two Robespierres, nor, as he himself says, “dig up the “foul and bloody shrouds of the frenetic tribunes of the Mountain to make of them party banners;” he asserts merely that the brothers acted a part, and that, having been the instruments of terror in the beginning, they felt a necessity that order should succeed, since they chose to retain, power and without order there could be none. Their adversaries disconcerted manœuvres, of which the younger Robespierre’s merciful journey and his brother’s change of conduct formed part: it seems wonderful, but it is true, that when the ninth of Thermidor brought the fall of both, their loss awoke regrets in the very ranks of those whence their victims had been drawn. “Alas!” they said, “what will become of us since “we have still friends and relatives, and Messieurs de Robespierre are no more?” Amplifying the proofs of this, while Nodier indignantly disclaims the title of apologist of Robespierre conferred on him in certain drawing-rooms, he affirms that their fears were well founded, and that the 9th of Thermidor arose in the interests of terror. The violence of the Thermidorian re-action was less felt in Paris than the provinces, and Nodier says it was therefore little known and slightly recorded, the history of France, like the language of France, being made for Paris. In Paris, as everyone knows, there was the victims’ ball, to which no female was admitted, unless a relative had perished by the guillotine, and where the red shawl and close-cropped hair formed the costume required; but the rage of retribution mostly broke forth in the east and south of France, where the so-called avengers formed themselves into companies, and took the name of “Compagnons de Jehu,” from the king of Israel charged to punish the crimes of the house of Ahab. Libertines and atheists as they for the

most part were, they could feel little interest in the revival of morals and religion, and could scarcely call themselves avengers of crimes in which the larger portion had borne a share. Murders from personal hatred or revenge were the exceptions; the murderers were mostly of the better classes, and seemed to pursue their terrible calling from the thirst for blood and craving for horrible excitement caused by those frantic years. Now and then the feeble administration of some town sent to a distance caravans laden with marked victims, to put them out of the way of private enemies, but it only changed their place of burial. The Jehuists exchanged prey with the regularity of traders; the prisoners on their arrival were massacred, bound and unresisting, sometimes replying by their chants to those of their murderers. The assassins destroyed shouting the 'Reveil du Peuple;' the victims expired murmuring the 'Marseillaise.' Some of these horrors young Nodier necessarily saw; still, in the very acts he shuddered at, he believes there entered yet more of frenzy than crime, all those Jehuists whom he had seen closely, and who escaped the guillotine themselves, having died by suicide or in melancholy madness: it always belongs to his nature to seek excuses for human failings, and where failings swell to crimes to name them a malady. In 1797 he was named 'adjoint' to the librarian of Besançon with a trifling salary, which yet gave him independence. Till then peculiarly timid, it would seem that his character now in some measure changed, and that these years of adolescence might be termed wild. His father would fain have seen him a lawyer, and he studied the law for some time, but without fruit or perseverance. In 1798 he published at Besançon his first work, entitled 'Dissertation sur l'usage des Antennes et sur l'organe de l'Ouïe dans les Insectes,' in which he describes the antennæ as the seat of the organs of hearing, a discovery he claims as his own. In 1799 he was implicated in some plot, entitled, as usual, one against the safety of the state, and was acquitted by a majority of one vote only. He lost however his place as librarian. In 1801, doing justice to Shakspeare, long before the greater portion of his countrymen, he published 'Quelques pensées de Shakspeare,' with Bonneville's epigraph,—

'Génie agreste et pur qu'ils traitent de barbare.'

In 1802 he returned to Paris, to which he had before paid one short visit, (in what year is uncertain,) and published the 'Napoleone.' It bore witness to his worship of liberty and startled Buonaparte in his triumph. The author was sought for among republicans and royalists, for in the 'Napoleone' there was something of both. Several persons had been arrested, and among the rest the republican printer Dabin, who together with the 'Napoleone' had privately printed and distributed other seditious pamphlets, which attracted the notice of the police. An old friend of Nodier's father was, fortunately for the young man, Fouché's librarian; he was treated with more leniency than he could otherwise have hoped for. He was, however, arrested late in the autumn of 1803, and conveyed to the horrible 'Dépôt de la Préfecture,' supposed to be a mere passage to other prisons, but wherein, in fact, the prisoners were heaped like sheep in a fold, and sometimes awaited their transfer for months. He staid there a fortnight, and was conveyed thence to the Temple, where he saw the infamous Marquis de Vade pass forth from the room he was to inhabit and threw himself into the arms of another friend of his father, Nicholas Bonneville of Evreux, the poet whose first graceful and original lines had awakened the interest of the Queen, who took under her protection the rhymers of eighteen. He was the friend of Roucher and of André Chenier, and had himself narrowly escaped a fate like theirs. One day, when Marat demanded his head, he was saved by those very furies who could scarcely be called female, but who were softened by the extreme beauty and mildness of his countenance, and themselves escorted him from the place of danger. Mercier had said to him on another occasion, "Do you hope to hold crime in awe with your cheeks like wild roses and your eyes like violets?" Since his deliverance his apartment in the Rue des Fous St. Germain had been a refuge for the unfortunate of all parties, and Nodier found him in prison for having concealed a man of opinions opposed to his own. Elsewhere in these 'Souvenirs' he speaks of him once more. In the year 1829 he found him again in the Rue des Grès, the poor master of a poor book-stall, sinking under the weight of age and hardship. He knew him, and rose with difficulty to offer him his solitary chair, which wanted a bot-

tom. He died there very poor. "A demand," says Nodier, "made, alas! too late, by Alfred de Vigny, Victor Hugo and myself to Monsieur de Martignac, who was then minister, for relief for poor Bonneville, obtained a small sum which came to pay the expenses of his funeral." After nine days' stay at the Temple, Nodier was transferred to St. Pelagie, where he remained forty-two more, *au secret*, ere the state of his health, seriously injured by strict confinement and the excessive cold of his cell beneath the roof, excited a turnkey's compassion. In consequence of this man's representations he was removed once more to the third floor of the building, called 'Prison de l'Opinion,' because destined to political offenders, and which had once held Madame Roland: he found her name written on the wall above his pallet. His captivity lasted but some months in all and was not physically severe, since he was allowed to communicate with others detained for opinion also, and to dine at a kind of restaurant, instituted within the walls for prisoners for debt; but any indulgence of this nature was fully compensated by the moral suffering which he shared with his companions. Once imprisoned for opinion, there appeared to be no reason why a man might not lie forgotten for years: some did so till the end of the empire; and the belief in nocturnal executions, taking place without form of trial within the prison-walls, which was general throughout Paris and encouraged rather than disavowed, proved a moral torture to those who lay waiting a midnight summons without the possibility of speaking a dying wish or farewell. At last the prison-doors were opened to him, and some of Nodier's best pages describe the day he was set free, —bewildered by the sense of his own liberty, the size of the streets, the noise of the crowd, the very houses which as he hurried on seemed coming to meet him, and the population which appeared augmented, as if all that crowd had just left dungeons also and was trying to walk; and, when he raised his eyes to a hackney coach which came along followed by a real multitude, the mute adieu he received from three former comrades, on their way to be shot in the plain of Grenelle! and his own inconsiderate bound towards them, and the good rough gend'arme who held him back from casting himself under the wheels, accusing him of wanton cruelty in wishing

to look closely on wretches going to die. Sent to Besançon and placed under surveillance there, Nodier compromised himself once more by contracting close intimacies with the returning emigrants and enemies of the government in general. Accused of aiding in Bourmont's escape, he left the town himself till a favourable sentence made it safe to return. Again implicated in what was denounced as an alliance between jacobins and royalists, and in danger of passing for the bond of union between the two parties, he was warned in time, and gaining the open country remained wandering till about 1806, either in the French Jura or in Switzerland, suffering from extreme poverty and having been obliged to ply all kinds of trades. At one time, it is said, he served as a village postman, at another he belonged to the lowest class of workmen.

In 1803 he produced the 'Painter of Salzburg,' a tale founded on Werther, and which, notwithstanding pages of great beauty, is inferior to those which followed; during the remaining interval he wrote 'Les Essais d'un jeune Barde,' a collection of poems dedicated to his friend Bonneville, and the greater part of his 'Dictionnaire raisonné des Onomatopées Françaises,' a work which even Querard, in his 'France Littéraire,' little inclined as he is to praise, pronounces one of great research and erudition. The commission of public instruction adopted it for the use of libraries and lyceums. It proves great extent of reading and a marvellous memory in so young a man, written as it was in the mountains while he strayed from cottage to cottage to avoid fresh persecutions; at one time escaping from the two gend'armes who captured him, only through his lightness of foot and knowledge of the localities; at another tracked by six more and hid in the barn of a peasant under the fresh steaming hay, which, piled over him, threatened him with another kind of death, holding his clasped hands above his head, striving to keep a space free for breath, and feeling the gend'armes partly force the forage aside as they trod over him, sounding it with their sabres. He was once slightly wounded. In 1806 his *mandat d'arrêt* was commuted to a *permis de séjour* at Dôle, where he became Benjamin Constant's friend, and opened a 'Cours de littérature' which had some success; making excursions, which he has celebrated in some sweet

verses, to the village of Quintigny, where his future wife resided. He shortly after married, and enjoyed for a time the charm of quiet so new to him; his straightened circumstances however forced him again to Paris in the year 1810, where his defence of Monsieur Etienne in his '*Questions de Littérature légale*' brought them acquainted, and Nodier became in consequence a contributor to the '*Débats*;' but growing weary of this occupation he accepted the post of secretary in the house of Sir Herbert Croft, a prisoner of war at Amiens, whose portrait he has traced in his charming story of '*Amelia*.' At the close of a year the love of freedom and his mountains brought Nodier back to Quintigny, where his narrow means forbade him to remain. His brother-in-law, Monsieur de Terey, summoned him to Illyria, where he was named librarian at Laibach, next secretary to Fouché, who was then governor of the Illyrian provinces, and lastly editor of the French newspaper which the duke of Otranto founded there under the title of the '*Illyrian Telegraph*.' The abandonment of the Illyrian provinces in 1813 brought him back. The hundred days came, and, invited by the minister of police to range himself among the supporters of Buonaparte, Nodier wrote the piece entitled '*Buonaparte au 4 Mai*,' which was printed in the '*Nain Jaune*,' and whose success was so startling that the author thought it wise to absent himself from Paris, and returned only after the second Restoration. He wrote, after Waterloo, various pamphlets in apology or defence of many of the fallen party,—Arnaud, Bories de St. Vincent, David, Jean Debry, and others. Forgotten by the Restoration, and too poor to live in Paris, he went to reside at St. Germain with his wife and two children, and wrote there '*Jean Sbogar*.' "It succeeded," said Nodier, "because, on account of its political tendency, I brought it out anonymously." It was attributed to Benjamin Constant. Napoleon, whom the book occupied two days in St. Helena, and who wrote notes on the copy which remained, we believe, in General Gourgaud's hands, guessed the author. It was sketched during his stay in Illyria, and among the scenes which inspired it. Jean Sbogar was the chief of a band of banditti still unforgotten on the shores of the gulf of Trieste. Nodier was present at the trial, whose interest chiefly lay in the prisoner's anxiety to prove

his non-identity with the brilliant and mysterious personage of mask and carnival elsewhere. On the day of his arrest, this extraordinary robber wore jewels to the value of 80,000 francs on his hands, whose whiteness and delicacy were remarked and commented on. He feigned ignorance of the various languages in which he was addressed, and persisted in replying in the Slavonic dialect. The only moment in which he had well nigh betrayed himself was while listening to the sentence, delivered in French, which condemned in his person no more than a common robber. Nodier, placed near the bench where he sat, remarked his deep attention to a language he had pretended not to know, and that his eye lighted up with triumph as he understood that the condemnation laid aside as irrelevant all facts connected with his appearances in Germany and Italy. After his sentence Nodier saw him several times in prison, speaking purely and eloquently French, Italian, German, modern Greek and the greater part of the Slavonic dialects, to which he owed the success of his stratagem. Most of the political maxims inscribed by Nodier on the tablets of 'Jean Sbogar,' the ultra-liberalism of which was sufficiently startling to prevent his owning the work, were, he says, scrupulously set down from the robber's conversation. Doomed to die, Jean Sbogar waited in his cell the setting up of a proper guillotine to put his sentence in execution, the carpenters of the place being unfit for a work of such nicety. An unlooked-for event threw open his prison-doors, and Jean Sbogar took the freedom which sought him, walking forth last, and returning again to deliver an old woman who was taken at the same time with himself. He walked to the little inn where he had left his horse some time before, saddled, gave him a feed of corn, and rode away. Being taken again, he was guillotined at Mantua. This is the basis of Nodier's story: still it is a pity that in the novel he has not entered more into the graphic details set down in his preface, and which would have conferred on his principal figure a reality which our author's personages sometimes want, in wanting the characteristic attributes which make us feel a likeness in the masterly portrait we pause to admire. In 1818 'Jean Sbogar' was first printed, when the Abbé Nicole, interesting himself in its author's fate, obtained for him a professor's

chair in the college which the duke of Richelieu had founded at Odessa. Nodier departed to bid his farewell to Franche Comté, but the minister failed to keep his word with him, and he returned as he had gone, at his own expense, to a poor lodging in the Rue de Bouloi, where in 1819 he wrote 'Thérèse Aubert.' It is of all his works that which we prefer,—that of which he says himself, "It is the only one of my books I like." Its style is even more pure than that of 'Jean Sbo-gar',—the interest deeper, the portraits more true. 'Adèle,' another souvenir of Werther and very inferior to 'Thérèse Aubert,' was published in 1820; 'Smarra, ou les Démons de la Nuit,' in 1821. 'Smarra' (the Slavonic word for 'nightmare') is a masterpiece of style; its defect lies in its obscurity; it is in truth a troubled dream,—a reminiscence more or less vague of many authors; but the march of the mighty horse, the invocations to the harp of Myrrha, blended with the picture of the lake of Como and the soothing of the beloved who sits by, have all Nodier's grace and music, and more than his usual power. 'Trilby, ou le Lutin d'Argail,' was published in 1822. The scene need not have been laid in Scotland, to which it bears not the faintest resemblance; but for peculiar beauty of style, for imaginative tenderness, notwithstanding something of mannerism, this must be classed among the better works of Nodier; it has all the faults and merits of the writer. He had found another occupation in the text of the 'Voyage pittoresque dans l'ancienne France,' undertaken by Messrs. Taylor and Cailleux. In Taylor's company he made an excursion to Scotland, writing on his return an account of their journey, which he called 'Promenade de Dieppe en Ecosse,' but which is unworthy his other works from his total ignorance of the country. At the close of 1823 he was appointed librarian to Monsieur (Charles X.) at the Arsenal, where he has since remained. The government of the Restoration also conferred on him letters of nobility, of which he made no use, and the cross of the legion of honour, perhaps in recollection of the *mot* which, though attributed to so many others, was spoken by Nodier and circulated in the 'Champ de Mai':—"Since France absolutely requires a king who can ride, I vote for Franconi."

Since then his life has gone calmly to its close, surrounded

by his family, who adored him, and his friends, of whom he had many. His daughter and his grandchildren resided with him at the Arsenal. His Sunday evenings became celebrated; the charm of his conversation was unequalled, uniting, as it did, the warmth of youth with the simplicity of a child. He had seen much during his checkered life, and possessed a wonderful memory; he was besides generous in his judgments and full of enthusiasm. It was not that he lacked penetration; "he had remained a boy," he said, "in disdain of being a man;" but his unaffected modesty hid his own merit from him, so that for the talent of others he had ever a kind of frank wonder; he looked at theirs through a magnifying glass, and to glance back at himself turned it the other way. The '*Souvenirs de Jeunesse*' were not written till 1832. '*Seraphine*,' the first of these, and charming as '*Thérèse Aubert*,' is that which we have already mentioned as containing the sketch of his early years, beside Monsieur de Chantrans.

It was not till 1833 that Nodier was named member of the French Academy, to which he was of great utility in the compilation of its dictionary. Some years before he had spoken in a tone rather frank than courteous of this celebrated society and its most important work, which "it has occupied itself withal," he says, "with more patience than success throughout 150 years, which is however no reason it should not one day succeed: with immortality for one's device and eternity before one, one may take time."

On his reception he showed himself perhaps too childishly delighted with the honour done him, but the close of his admission-speech did him honour; it said, "that genius and virtue were perhaps synonymous words, that he himself having lost illusions had abdicated no affection, and loving all he had ever loved, remained gratefully faithful to old-age and exile, knowing no crime deeper than treason, no treason more impious than that which betrays misfortune." We have by no means enumerated all Nodier's works; it is probable he could not himself have accurately set down all. He wrote for the '*Débats*' and the '*Quotidienne*,' the '*Temps*' and the '*Revue de Paris*'; he wrote, to answer the exigencies of the hour, prefaces and introductions innumera-

ble. Among our omissions we may name his 'Mélanges tirés d'une petite bibliothèque, la fée aux miettes,' a witty fairy-tale not wanting in pathos; and 'L'Histoire du Roi de Bohême et de ses sept châteaux,' an imitation of Sterne, and we think a feeble one. He left his family no fortune. In his last brief tale of 'Franciscus Colonna' he has striven to fill up the imperfect outline drawn by biographers of the Ghibelline Dominican of the Colonna family, and his love briefly told for some noble dame by the phrase "Franciscus Colonna adores Polia," formed by the letters which commence the chapters of his curious volume, 'the Hypnerotomachia of Poliphilo.' In his friend the Abbé Lowrich, discoverer of the rare edition of this rare book, written in a dialect of its own, Nodier has drawn with a complacent finger the victim of bibliomania; this time directing his irony against himself and laughing goodnaturedly at the innumerable atoms of biography and bibliography contained in the learned man's skull, which another possessing them would fain forget, and the treasures in his portfolio which a tax-gatherer would not steal from him. This story was in fact written, as he was in the habit of saying to his friends, "not to make a book, but to buy one: it "is one of the charming fly-leaves," he said, "which he should "continue to write till death came grinning to blow aside "the fugitive pages." His happy bibliomania replaced many enjoyments which he had lost through ill-health. During many years, and without any declared disease, his strength declined more and more. He often suffered from extreme lassitude, which forced him to seek his bed before the usual hour of rest. He had so long been suffering, so long complained that death was approaching, with the same stoop in his tall figure and weariness in his eye, and paleness of countenance which lighted up or vanished in the company or conversation of those he loved, that they could not believe he was to die. From the moment he was known to be in danger, unceasing marks of affection and attention sought him from all sides. A message from the Tuileries and another from the bureau of the 'National' arrived once at the same time. Nodier remarked on it with a pleased smile. "Who would think," he said, on another occasion, with his mild and half-playful manner, "that I was never anything but a poor devil?" The

Christmas-eve of last December fell on a Sunday ; his drawing-rooms opened for the last time. The evening was however gay, for he alone had forebodings of his coming end. Rising from an *écarté*-table where he had won, he said smiling to an old friend, "Don't regret it, it is the last twenty sous I ever shall win of you." Three days after he took to his bed, from which he never rose again. He was soon at extremity, and during these days of anguish, in which his mind was not for a moment obscured, his whole attention was turned to deceiving his family on the subject of his danger. He had the courage to sustain this conduct for almost a month, betraying his secret only an hour before he expired, when he murmured to those he saw weeping round him, "You, too, suffer then!" On Twelfth-day he recited some Latin verses to two young men to whom he was sincerely attached, and who sat by his bedside, reminding them that they had been dictated by their author, when on his deathbed likewise, to his son. The night before he died his increased fever brought on delirium. He knew no one and talked unceasingly. He said once to his nurse who offered him a tisane, "Take that away, it is bad and bitter; Alfred de Vigny has offered it me five times and I would not take it from *him*." The thread of his ideas could not be followed, he spoke in unconnected and broken words; those who listened could only distinguish, addressed to his daughter, "Read Tacitus often, to give more force to your style." As she held a cup to his lips he knew her, and while he drank with avidity she said, "Is it not good?" "Yes," he answered, "like everything that comes from you." She leaned her face on his pillow to hide her emotion. "Ah," he said, "if you remained always thus I should never die." An hour or two later, as his last moments drew near, he said to his wife and daughter, "You will think of me always, I loved you so very dearly. I am happy to bless my children and grandchildren: are all there? Is no one ill? What day is this?"—"The 27th."—"Do not forget the date." He had desired his son-in-law to thank all their friends for the sympathy they had shown throughout his illness, and expressed a wish to see daylight once more; and while his children kneeled by his desire to pray round him, he said, "My poor Jules, I did not think it could be so difficult."

He then motioned all away from his bedside, saying the sight of them gave him pain, and fell into a doze; his breath became intermitting and rare. As the sun rose he ceased to breathe. His native town Besançon has decreed to him a statue; the municipality of Paris presented the ground for his grave. We would fain see his biography from the hand of one whom he loved and appreciated, and whom the voice of the public, if not that of the forty, named to fill the place he left vacant. Several times during his illness Nodier said to Alfred de Vigny, "I will be carried in a litter to the Academy to vote for you," and shortly before he died he added, that one of his deep regrets was the not living long enough to give him his vote again as he had done thrice before. When the earth closed over him there stepped forward from among the spectators a young man belonging to the working classes, who laid upon the grave a crown of flowers; only flowers could be cast upon such gentle clay!

ARTICLE V.

1. *Minute by the Right Honourable the EARL OF AUCKLAND, Governor-General of India, upon Native Education.* 1841.
2. *The Rev. DR. DUFF's Letters addressed to Lord Auckland, on the subject of Native Education.* Calcutta, 1841.
3. *Preeminence of the Vernaculars, or the Anglicists answered: being Two Letters on the Education of the People of India.* By B. H. HODGSON, Esq., B.C.S. Third edition. Calcutta, 1841.

SINCE Mr. Trevelyan's attempt to romanize the Hindee characters, with a view to instruct the people through the vernacular languages in an English dress, and to lead them imperceptibly to the study of English, there has been in India little public discussion upon this important subject. A letter has appeared now and then from some Orientalist, deploring the desuetude into which the studies of Persian, Arabic and Sanscrit had fallen in the Oriental colleges and schools

of Government. When the use of Persian was abolished in all courts throughout the country, and the vernacular language substituted as the medium of all Government transactions with the people, the Orientalists declared that the literature of India would perish, since the Government, who had before required a considerable acquaintance with it from its servants, had ceased to recognize its utility.

On the other hand, advocates for an entire reform in the education of the people were often equally clamorous; missionaries urged an absolute renunciation of Arabic and Sanscrit, and the substitution of English in the principal colleges, for the means of religious instruction; while many considered it imperative on the Government to make English the language of business, as Persian had been. This was ably supported, and stood high for a long time in the arguments of the educationists.

Others, at the head of whom as a vernaculist is Mr. Hodgson, have advocated the propriety of a step towards English in the employment of the vernacular tongues, and the adaptation of English class-books to the use of the natives of India; arguing, that a knowledge of English is eagerly sought after by the mass of the people, and that it behoves the Government to reform the colleges with a view to its being publicly studied.

Lord William Bentinck, than whom no Governor-General since the Marquis of Hastings had the regeneration of the people of India more truly at heart, cordially lent his aid to further the views of the moderate educationists, avoiding the extremes of both parties. He saw that the time was come when the youth of Bengal might be directed to higher and better courses of study; and as he was not at liberty to appropriate the revenues of the country further than had been already authorized by the home Government, he determined on reducing the number of native scholarships in the Arabic and Sanscrit colleges, and the number of professors, and substituting English classes for them with the funds thus placed at his disposal. There was no doubt of the practical utility which followed this measure, and it was carried out to the fullest extent, in spite of the vehement protestations from European orientalists, and for a time from the na-

tive heads of colleges both Mahommedan and Hindoo. The latter had indeed reason to be alarmed by even the partial substitution of a new and popular means of education, and they soon felt the ground rapidly slipping from under them. This will appear more fully from the following extract from the official returns to Government.

"In 1831 there were attending the Sanscrit College,—

30 pupils paid by Government	8 rupees a month.
70 ditto, „ „	at 5 ditto. „
60 free scholars.	

160

"English College,

Paying boys at 5 rupees.....	300
Free scholars	60
School Society.....	30
Donation Scholars	12

402

At the end of 1835 :—

Sanscrit College,—135 stipendiary.

English College,—407, of whom 374 were paying for their education.

At the end of 1838 :—

Sanscrit College.		English College.	
Stipendiary	49	Foundation students.....	56
Free	80	Paying for their education 5 to	
		7 rupees per month	415
	<hr/> 129		<hr/> 471

In this return we see no boys paying for education in Arabic and Sanscrit, but instructed either at the Government expense or free of cost, whilst there is a striking contrast in favour of English. The above is the return for Calcutta only, but it was everywhere the same. Arabic and Sanscrit were comparatively neglected, and English pursued with avidity: the following statement of books sold by the School-book Society, a private institution, for four years, to the close of 1839, remarkably confirms this fact :—

English	72,205 books.
Bengali	20,363
Anglo-Asiatic or Roman Hindee	9,520
Hindee	9,684
Hindostanee	7,445
Persian	2,869

Oorigu	551 books.
Sanscrit.....	626
Arabic	110

It is not surprizing that the Orientalists should take the alarm, that the learned Moulvees and Pundits of the colleges deplored their failing classes, deserted except by those who were paid by Government to attend them ; while the ranks of the English teachers were thronged with boys, who willingly paid as much as the Government paid the others for the studies of Arabic and Sanscrit. It is, however, from the books sold that we perceive the true bent of popular desire ; nearly one hundred times more English than Oriental books from one establishment alone in Calcutta (not reckoning those from the Danish Mission press of Serampoor, and all the private presses and bookselling establishments of Calcutta), shows an overwhelming preponderance in favour of modern acquirement, over the difficult and useless works in Arabic and Sanscrit.

With these cheering prospects, the friends of true education were beginning to rejoice, that at last, after a weary age of ignorance and superstition, the youth of India were in a fair way to acquire knowledge of *truth*, through the medium of the English language ; and practical refutations were given to the argument that English was only valued by the people as a means of obtaining Government employ. In a great measure, however, the expectations of the English Educationists were checked by the Minute on Education issued by the Earl of Auckland, to which we are about to allude.

The advance made by Lord William Bentinck established the dissemination of European literature. He could not recognize the practical utility of the Arabic and Sanscrit languages ; he saw that their study was confined to a few Mahomedans and Brahmins, who aspired to the situations of law-officers in the courts, or to be expounders of the Koran and the Shastrus in the mosques and temples, and that the heart of the *people* was not in these studies. He knew that, by the tenets of the Hindoo faith, none but Brahmins could approach the study of Sanscrit, leading as it did to the almost exclusive study of the Hindoo sacred writings ; and that in this language, and still more in Arabic, it was almost entirely

the stipend allowed to each student by the Government which induced youths to enter the colleges in pursuit of so laborious a course of study. This was a bold measure, but it was decisive; those who were inimical to it declared that it would be met by the earnest remonstrances of the people at the discouragement of their ancient literature, and that any other appropriation of the funds given for its support was a breach of faith which would be attended by the worst consequences. Nothing of the kind however took place; if there were any remonstrances, they proceeded immediately and solely from those interested in the pecuniary part of the measure, with whom the body of the people had no sympathy. But while steadily pursuing the course he had laid down, he declared that no establishment for education should be abolished, so long as any desire was apparent in the native population to resort to it for instruction; he objected, however, to continue the payment of stipends to all native students, considering that, if they really desired knowledge, they would be glad to receive it in the institutions which were open to them without cost. Vacancies in the professorships of the ancient languages were not filled up, unless it could be clearly shown that the state of the vacant classes warranted the further expenditure of the Government funds. Thus a check to Arabic and Sanscrit was felt at once, which was increased by his Lordship's prohibition of any further expenditure of the public money in reprinting Arabic, Sanscrit and Persian works, after it had reached 16,000*l.* in nine years, from 1824 to 1833.

We must however in justice state, that the Orientalists had prepared a scheme for the introduction of European classical and scientific learning into India. They could not overlook its necessity to meet the growing intellectual demands of the people; and while small English classes were introduced into some of the colleges, the grand aim of the Education Committee was to impart European knowledge through the learned languages only. Some of the members of the Education Committee set to work with zeal and energy upon translations into Arabic and Sanscrit from English, which were prepared at immense cost and labour,—a cost which the funds obtained by some lapsed scholarships enabled them in

part to defray. We will not stop to inquire into this waste of time, labour and money, in translating one foreign language into another; the knowledge thus conveyed was as far removed from the people as ever. But about this time there occurred a change in the views of some of the members of the Education Committee; new ones were admitted who held more liberal opinions; and eventually, as the zeal for translations slackened, Lord William Bentinck put an end to them by a Minute, which directed that *all* the funds placed by his reforms at the disposal of the Committee should be employed in imparting a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language. We subjoin the Minute itself, which passed into an act, and afterwards led to such remarkable consequences and discussions.

THE ENGLISH EDUCATION ACT.

"Fort-William General Consultation, 7th March, 1835.

"The Governor-General of India in Council has attentively considered the two letters from the Secretary to the Committee*, dated the 21st and 22nd January last, and the papers referred to in them.

"1st. His Lordship in Council is of opinion, that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India; and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone†.

"2nd. But it is not the intention of his Lordship in Council to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the native population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages which it affords; and his Lordship in Council directs that all the existing professors and students at all the Institutions under the superintendence of the Committee shall continue to receive their stipends. But his Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effects of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student that may hereafter enter at any of these Institutions;

* What Committee is referred to, in this and the subsequent paragraphs, will be found explained in the illustrations that follow.

† This must be understood with reference to the grand controversy which called forth the Minute, and which referred *solely* to what should constitute an "advanced education," and what should be the "lingual media" of instruction. That is, whether it should be learned Orientalism, through the media of Sanscrit and Arabic, or European literature and science through the medium of English. The subject of diffusing elementary education through the medium of the vernaculars was not then raised.

and that when any professor of Oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

" 3rd. It has come to the knowledge of the Governor-General in Council, that a large sum has been expended by the Committee on the printing of Oriental works ; his Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

" 4th. His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language ; and his Lordship in Council requests the Committee to submit to Government, with all expedition, a plan for the accomplishment of this purpose.

" (A true copy.)

" (Signed) H. T. PRINSEP,

" *Secretary to Government.*"

We do not see that the Orientalists were so much to blame, in following the course they did so long, as many have urged. Men cannot shake off early-imbibed prejudices in a day, or at the instance of a Minute by a Governor-General : their very prejudices were to be respected, originating as they did in a long and arduous study of languages, the pursuit of which had raised them to eminence, and had led to the correction and the discovery of much of the ancient history of the country, to a more complete knowledge of its laws, and to expositions of the religion, morals, social condition and antiquities of a venerable people. They would have sought to regenerate the society of India through these as the medium of instruction, and they followed up their scheme with an ardour which proved their sincerity. Here, however, our vindication must stop : they were men, for the most part, who stoutly resisted every innovation on existing prejudices ; who, instead of seeking the free enlightenment of the people of India, were content that knowledge should rest with a few, leaving to them the task of its dissemination. They could not march with the times, nor see in the enlightenment of its subjects the best safeguard to the Government. Those feelings and that race have in a great measure passed away, and given place to a wider philanthropy : Lord Bentinck's enactments were the direst blows they received, and it has been seen that, with the study of English in Bengal, natives have rapidly attained an intellectual power which commanded, and has ultimately obtained, respect.

Notwithstanding the boldness of his measures, Lord William Bentinck must not be regarded as a hasty innovator, whose acts were unsanctioned by reason or experience. On the contrary, he had before him the example of the Hindoo college of Calcutta,—an establishment originally founded by private individuals, native and European, for the study of English, but which eventually passed into the hands of Government; he saw with gratification that English was the language desired by the people, and this strengthened and eventually decided his opinions; they gradually became minutes in council, and legislative enactments followed.

From the date of his Lordship's Minute the prospects of the Orientalists rapidly declined. As the light of English knowledge threw their own pursuits into the shade, they became desperate; the cultivation of English was in most places superseding the ancient learned languages, except perhaps at Benares and Delhi, the strongholds of Hindoo and Mahomedan learning, and we may add of bigotry and superstition; there was no alternative but to make a rally. The assault made with all the force of the party, and on a mind already confounded by the disputes of rival theorists, and striving after peace by a middle course, proved successful. The bitter disagreements between the sections during the interval from 1835 to 1841 had reached a climax, when Lord Auckland was called upon to interfere, and his Minute was written professedly with a view to calm dissension. Like all middle courses however, chosen with a desire to please opposite parties, it failed in its object. He granted at once the demands of the Orientalists, thus retrograding from the position which Lord William Bentinck had so boldly seized, and which the country was itself maintaining; and this too, not from any new remonstrance, real or pretended, on the part of the natives themselves, but apparently only to silence the quarrels of the members of the Educational Committee. The opening of his Lordship's Minute showed the state of feeling among officers of Government upon this point; he says:—

“I have not, since I assumed charge of the government, recorded my sentiments at length upon the important questions which regard the best means of promoting education among the natives of India. The subject is one of the highest interest, and especially calls for calm consideration and

for combined effort. But unhappily I have found violent differences existing upon it; and it was for a time (now I trust past, or fast passing away) a watch-word for violent dissensions, and in some measure of personal feeling. I judged it best, under these circumstances, to abstain from what might have led me into unprofitable controversy, and to allow time and experience to act, with their usual healing and enlightening influences, upon general opinion. I may earnestly hope that we are now not very far remote from arriving at some satisfactory result in respect to our education controversies, and I will approach the topic with the hope of contributing in some degree to this end."—*Minute*.

In this introduction to the subject we see no mention of the natives,—no allusion to petitions, either from heads of colleges or the people,—no regard to their wishes; the question is one between officers of the Government alone, who from personal feeling approach the subject of native education with bitter dissensions. This is a melancholy consideration, in a subject so little calculated to arouse angry feelings in any one,—in a land where religious or political differences of sects and creeds are not concerned. Here is only a question of the greatest good to the greatest number,—an axiom denied by neither party, but the discussion of which cannot be approached without disunion, bitterness and personal animosity.

The question was however in a considerable degree one of funds: those which, as we have stated, Lord William Bentinck resumed from the paid Oriental scholars and neglected classes, and applied to the more vigorous English ones, were the real matters in dispute. Many of the Orientalists had probably no personal objection to the instruction of the people in English, provided that Arabic and Sanscrit, together with their professors, were spared. But as the public funds were insufficient to meet both demands, the acrimony of the two parties increased in proportion as the English classes were aided at the expense of the other. Lord Auckland says:—

"I may observe that it may, in my opinion, be clearly admitted—and I am glad from the papers before me to see that this opinion is supported by the authority of Mr. Prinsep—that the insufficiency of the funds assigned by the State to the purposes of public instruction has been amongst the main causes of the violent disputes which have taken place upon the education question, and that, if the funds previously appropriated to the cultivation of Oriental literature had been spared, and other means placed at the disposal of the promoters of English education, they might have pursued their object aided by the good wishes of all."—*Minute*.

Here, however, follows the real pith of the matter, in the miserable pittance allowed by Government,—insufficient to maintain *any* system of public education on a comprehensive plan, and tending only to become a source of contention between rival parties.

“In the Bengal Presidency,” continues his Lordship, “with its immense territory and a revenue of above 13 millions, the yearly expenditure of the Government on this account is little in excess of 24,000*l.*, or 240,000 rupees, and I need not say in a country like India, that it is to the Government that the population must look for facilities in the acquisition of improved learning. There is, I know, the strongest desire both in England and in India on the part of the authorities to support every well-arranged plan for the extension of education, and the dispatches of the Honourable Court are full of the evidence of their anxiety on the subject. I may cite in particular the declaration of a dispatch of the 28th February 1824 :—‘In the meantime we wish you to be fully apprized of our zeal for the progress and improvement of education among the people of India, and our willingness to make considerable sacrifices to that important end, if proper means for the attainment of it could be pointed out to us.’”—*Minute*.

Twenty-four thousand pounds allowed out of thirteen millions, for the instruction of that people who, his Lordship declares, must look to the Government for instruction! The grant was wrung from the Court in 1824: miserable as it was, it upheld a partial system of education; it sufficed to furnish the plea that education was provided, that schools and colleges were established, and that was all. Lord William Bentinck’s Minutes were subsequently made public. The Court were made aware of the state of the educational parties in India,—they saw the animosities of the Orientalists, the struggling ardour of the other party. A few more thousands of those so hardly given by the people of India might have settled all differences, and enabled each to pursue its own ends for good. But all appeals were vain: in spite of the declarations of the Court, not one fraction was added to this pittance; and though the distresses and disagreements of the Committee of Instruction were but too evident for many years, and their origin perfectly known, the question was left to struggle on in its original poverty. It is idle to boast of a willingness to make sacrifices if proper means to attain the desired end could be pointed out. What can have been plainer for years, than that, if the means were increased, the

objects of the Educationists would be placed in some degree within reach ?

If there had been an honest intention on the part of the Court to extend education, the unlooked-for success of the English language would have warmed their hearts in this cause. But although it had powerful advocates, and plans were proposed of regenerating the schools of the country and of primary instruction, we can trace no effects to them : the reports of success on the one hand, and the proposals and plans on the other, have not been aided by a fair trial. Away then with such hypocrisy, which we regret to find re-echoed by the Earl of Auckland :—

“ I have alluded” says he, “ to the limited amount and appropriation of our present funds, *not certainly with the slightest idea of casting a reproach upon the previous course of administration*, but merely as a fact which is of importance in its bearing on our former discussions. The sum at command was limited. Parties wishing to promote the diffusion of knowledge contended eagerly, the one to retain, the other to gain that sum for the schemes to which they were respectively favourable, and had fresh sums been procurable, no one might have objected to their employment for a full and fair experiment on the new ideas which began to prevail. The inference which I would point out from these facts and observations is, that a principle of wise liberality, not stinting any object which can be reasonably recommended, but granting a measured and discriminating encouragement to all, is likely to command general acquiescence, and to obliterate, it may be hoped, the recollection of the acrimony which has been so prejudicial to the public weal in the course of past proceedings. The Honourable Court have already, as was to be expected, acted on this principle ; they have made a separate grant for the publication of the works of interest in the *ancient literature* to be disbursed through the appropriate channel of the Asiatic Society, and this measure is one which has been hailed with universal satisfaction.”

We may, however, ask whether no sound opinions or practicable plan emanated from a committee composed of the men in India best informed upon the subject, during a period of sixteen years of close observation and unwearying patience ? The answer is obvious : during this time English forced itself upon the notice of the rulers of India too pointedly to be disregarded ; so rapidly indeed that, as no wish existed to further it to the people, so it seemed to have become necessary to check it, though the only education for which there is a real desire, and which the people are them-

selves striving unaided to maintain. The only sum given was one for publishing books in Sanscrit and Arabic !

The chief aim of the Oriental party has been to establish the right of each college to the sum primarily allotted for its support, and to make it appear that Lord William Bentinck's alienation of these funds was a direct breach of faith on the part of the Government. Lord Auckland did not however agree with this view of the most vital part of the subject ; he was not of opinion " that the acts of Government would bear " this very exclusive and restrictive construction,"—" that the " resolutions of Government made in 1836 were intended to " have the force of a perpetual guarantee,"—or that the expenditure of the funds which might have been assigned to each institution should be restricted to it, irrespective of the nature of the instruction to which they were applied.

In the sequel to the discussion, when the Committee on Public Instruction had recommended a consolidation of all grants made by Government for education, which was not allowed, and the Government of India considered that the excess in each institution might " be appropriated as appeared " most equitable with reference to the orders of Government, " and the pledges and assurances that may have been given to " any particular institutions," Lord Auckland said,—

" There was here no statement that the consolidation was a thing wholly out of the question ; the diversion of funds from particular institutions was admitted as a measure which might, or might not be proper ; and (the circumstances of all institutions not being before the government), there is a reservation for the pledges and assurances which *may have been given* to some of them. Under such a reservation, if any promise in perpetuity to a particular institution could be shown, such a promise would of course have to be respected ; but otherwise, by these orders of April, 1836, things were left exactly as they stood before."

May have been given,—the italics are Lord Auckland's. Such pledges then have not positively been given in any case, at any time ; there are no instances adduced of these grants of money being restricted solely to the purposes first specified, and there is therefore no doubt that the funds could be applied to other purposes of education, at the discretion of the Government. Indeed it appears clear that a door was wisely left open by the donors, in order to meet the wishes and necessities of the people. Here then we find an ample justi-

fication of the acts of Lord William Bentinck, and he exercised a just and proper discretion in consulting the wants and the increasing intelligence of the country.

We have been thus particular in pointing out the situation of the Government question of education previous to the last minute of Lord Auckland, in order to render clear the position we would assume, to show the false position of the Oriental party in urging their exclusive claim upon the Government, and to prove that the Government was free to appropriate, in a fair and useful spirit, any part of the funds for the furtherance of education.

Having thus overcome the pretensions of the Oriental party, exposed the falseness of their claims, and proved the justness of the position which Lord William Bentinck had assumed, it remained for Lord Auckland to choose his path distinctly, as the head of a Government representing the religion, enlightenment and civilization of the British empire. It is to be lamented that in a great measure he gave up the ground which his predecessor had won. He says (and this declaration follows close upon his assertion of the freedom of the Government),—

“ I see no advantage to be gained in this case by a too close contest for strict constructions, and having taken a review of money estimates and of local wants, I am satisfied that it will be best to abstract nothing from other useful objects : *while I see at the same time nothing but good to be derived from the employment of the funds which have been assigned to each Oriental seminary exclusively on instruction in, or in connection with, that seminary.* I would also give a decided preference within these institutions to the promotion in the first instance of perfect efficiency in Oriental instruction, and only after that shall have been properly attained, in proportion to the demand for it, would I assign the funds to the creation and support of the English classes.”

The fact that, after years of experience of the growing intelligence of the people, and with ample proof of their desire for European enlightenment, the Government should have voluntarily receded from the advanced position they had attained, is scarcely credible. Was this to soothe those angry disputes of the educationists which made enemies of man and man in the cause? Were these the opinions to be held in the nineteenth century by a Christian nobleman at the head of a Christian administration, that Pagan and Mahomedan learn-

ing—obsolete, as it is false—should have a precedence over that of his own land? We can but lament that a fair opening of promise was so suddenly clouded over, and the weight of the highest authority in the land thrown into the scale of ignorance and evil. This could not have been his Lordship's intention, and this is perhaps evident from the succeeding portions of his Minute which we have yet to notice; but the words we have quoted stand in the very van of his arguments, and are put forth deliberately and with an express intention.

Why the failing cause of Orientalism should have received this powerful preference and support, we are at a loss to discover. A study of the constitution and present social condition of the people affords ample proof of the existence of a baneful religion, of an exclusive, cruel priesthood, of a vile code of morals, of false principles in law, corrected only by a form of government suited to the simple habits of a people whose minds were chained by superstition. We can but contrast with this policy the uncompromising and energetic declarations of Lord William Bentinck,—written, not to satisfy the idle clamours of a faction, but with a straightforwardness and regard to high principle worthy of imitation.

“Regardless of the idle clamours of interested partisanship, and fearless of all consequences, let us resolve at once to repudiate altogether what is demonstrably injurious because demonstrably false; and let us cleave to, and exclusively promote, that which is demonstrably beneficial because demonstrably true.”

Lord Auckland did not notice his predecessor's Minutes in his own; and that which seems at least extraordinary meets with a ready solution in the above. Yet Lord William Bentinck had to stem the whole noise and fury of disappointed orientalism, and had few English partisans; whereas Lord Auckland, with a strong English party to back him, yielded to the first assault.

Lord William Bentinck's principle was open and avowed,—we find no corresponding openness in Lord Auckland. We cannot see why opinions and measures which had triumphantly stood the test of some years' experience should have been at once abandoned, while old and pernicious ones were reverted to, to please a party which was every day becoming more insig-

nificant. The change exhibits only the poor attempt to follow a middle course between two parties, and even here the object did not succeed. Was this justified by necessity, by any consideration of state policy, or concession to popular demand? There was no demand made; no address, no petition from any sect or person, from any city, town, district or province, had, so far as we can discover, been presented to his Lordship on the subject; and, if there had, it is far more likely that it would have been one for an extended and popular system of instruction, than one confined to a few professors of Arabic and Sanscrit and a few scholars, a small fraction of the millions desiring enlightenment. Here was a monopoly of education, therefore, as prejudicial to the people's welfare as it was opposed to the people's wishes.

The Brahmins and Moulvees, the expounders of law and religion to Hindoos and Mahomedans, made no effort to disseminate the knowledge gained in the Government colleges, because this would have spoiled their own market; and whilst they could maintain their price, as paid expounders of the law to the Government or as religious and moral teachers to the people, they did so. They were therefore the last to desire any abatement of this monopoly. And what cared the multitude for them? all could not be expounders of Mussulman law or teachers of the Shastrus. By the tenets of the Hindoo faith, Brahmins could alone have access to the latter; and in India, where the trade or profession of the father is generally that of the son, the son of a Moulvee or a Moolla was pretty sure to be the same, especially when the handsome allowance of Government was an additional inducement. Looking at the question in this light, we see the narrowness of the system of education in Arabic and Sanscrit, which could only be of use to the privileged classes of Brahmins, Mahomedan priests and law-expounders. The people could not make any impression upon this monopoly for obvious reasons, and they never attempted it. If it be asked whether the Government did not need a learned body for the interpretation of the Hindoo and Mahomedan laws, and for the business of the courts, we answer that, by an enactment of Lord Auckland's, (one which stands out boldly in contradiction to this Minute,) the use of Persian was abolished in all

public proceedings, and that of the vernacular languages substituted; while by the new code of laws compiled by the law committee (in English of course), every judge is required to know the points of law upon which the case before him turns. We assert that there existed no state necessity for Lord Auckland's Minute. There could have been no consideration for losses suffered by incumbents, for they were not interfered with by Lord William Bentinck's act, but allowed to die off, and their places supplied only to meet the demand; the learned languages were left to stand by their own strength; if public opinion failed to support them, what need was there to lavish Government money and patronage on a system which every month was more rapidly consigning to the tomb?

The claim of justice his Lordship himself answered,—the claim of state policy or other necessity did not exist. We ask, whether the pursuit of oriental study was to be revived at the Government expense and under the fostering sun of Government patronage for its own merits? Was the Government to uphold the Koran, with its false belief, its sensual promises, its debasing doctrine of fatalism, its lying revelations and impudent assertions of miracle and inspiration, and the profound bigotry of those who profess its doctrines? Were the obscenity of Krishna, the idle tales of the actions of Rama, the theism of the Vedas and Puranas, the idolatry and abomination of the whole belief to be upheld? What if there are interspersed through the ancient writings of the Hindoos moral sentiments and an elevated tone of philosophy, inquiry and speculation,—are these not mingled with baneful doctrines, which have been a curse to the land for ages and cannot be approached without defilement?

In the Sanscrit college the books used are,—three, grammar,—fourteen, poetry and the drama, among which are six single plays,—three rhetoric,—three theology,—two mathematics,—eight law, among which are some as much theology as law, and we presume these are the most select of the whole literature. Have we in English then no course of study more profitable either for morality or science than these productions? Ingenious and speculative they may be, but will any one uphold their unalloyed beneficial tendency? on the contrary, have we not practical illustrations of the low standard

of morality of the people, and the vice and sensuality of those classes more especially in which knowledge of their own literature and theology stands highest? A regard to their antiquity and to their associations with history justify the preservation of these languages, but this is all: no one could ever pretend to prefer either, for practical utility, to English. While however we admit the claims of Sanscrit, we deny those of Arabic,—the language of the Koran; it was introduced only because of its connection with that book, for the sake of the laws and their administration.

What of the literature of that language can be accessible to the people of India? or how much was ever attempted even by the Mahomedan rulers of India to be communicated to them? The list of the college studies proves sufficiently its poverty as relating to India. Why then assist in perpetuating it? If really required by the people of India, thousands would be ready and willing to build colleges for its cultivation. We have seen, however, that as soon as the Government stipends were withdrawn, the study of it declined, and that it lingers only in those colleges which send forth teachers to perpetuate Mahomedanism. To Sanscrit we assign, so far as India is concerned, a more enlarged sphere of science, a more elevated philosophy; and its intimate connection with the antiquities, the laws, the religion and the political economy of India renders it an object of greater care and interest.

Is English then to be preferred to every other medium for the instruction of the people, and to supplant the indigenous languages of the country? Surely not. We think conscientiously that English is decidedly preferable to the others as a learned language; but there is at the same time a more feasible scheme than either, which has courted a trial for years. We agree with Mr. Hodgson, that the vernacular languages of India are the most available means of education for the people, giving a sounder basis for eventual progress to better knowledge than any other. The local languages of the people,—Bengalee, Hindee and Hindostanee to the east, north and centre of India; the Mahrattee and Guzerattee to the west; the Tamul and Tllogod to the south,—are those which could be made available for the purpose. There

are many local dialects, which need not to be noticed. All these languages (capable of great improvement), are at present sufficient to convey to the people a vast quantity of knowledge in a useful and popular form in the native schools, which are now at the lowest ebb of poverty, both of means and instruction. It has been asserted that the vernacular languages of India cannot serve any good purpose of education,—that their poverty of words and construction precludes their being used as mediums of translation of English works for the people. From this opinion we must, with Mr. Hodgson, whose eminence as an oriental scholar gives authority to his words, beg to dissent:—

“ In recently translating ‘ Prinsep’s Transactions’ (a law-book) into Hindee, I found no difficulty arising out of the alleged poverty of the vernacular; and I suspect that those who have clamoured most about the feebleness of the Indian vulgar tongues know as little about the express facts as they do about the inferred capabilities or rather incapacities. Dante found the Italian language far cruder than any Indian vernacular now is; yet this single man, by a single work, made the vulgar tongue of his country capable of supporting the most sublime, novel and abstract ideas.”

We shall not enter on any lengthened argument to prove the capabilities of each vernacular. Hindostanee possesses grammars and dictionaries, many elaborate works on logic, ethics, astronomy, medicine, history, poetry, tales, etc., in great numbers: this language was never used but as a medium of personal communication between the Mahomedan rulers and their subjects, but became refined at the courts of Hindostan and the Dekhan; it was never the language of correspondence even among those who spoke no other, or of Government transactions with the people, Persian having been used under the old Mahomedan governments, and until lately under our own. This language, so prevalent throughout India, is, from its intimate connection with Arabic, Sanscrit, Hindee and Persian, capable of great improvement; and as its structure is easy and free from any remarkable complications, it could be the more easily disseminated. *Ex uno disce omnes*: all the vernaculars lie in the same class, though the others may lean more to the Sanscrit than the Hindostanee, and could more easily adopt the scientific terms of that copious language; there would be less difficulty with

them than with Hindostanee, as all have from time immemorial been used as the language of correspondence wherever they have prevailed.

The difficulties therefore do not lie in the capabilities of these languages for expressing thought or conveying to the people useful information ; what is required is, first, the means of instructing the people *at all*, and secondly, the dissemination of such instruction as will dispel their present darkness. There can be only one means : it is impossible at once to lower English to meet the wants and capacities of the whole people ; we abandon therefore English as a primary means, and argue for the employment of the vernacular languages. They have everywhere been made the medium of public business in the courts of law, and of public correspondence where English is not practicable. Is it then not incumbent on the Government to aid, as much as possible, the improvement of these languages, so as to render them equal to its own wants ?

By opening the stores of European knowledge to the people, the goodwill of the Government to its subjects will become apparent, and an additional hold on the affections of the people be secured. By adopting the languages of the country as the present medium of education, the people would learn to think for themselves, and knowledge would cease to be restricted to a tyrant priesthood, who through ages have used it only for the worst purposes.

No one, we think, will maintain that the elements of knowledge—a knowledge of the structure of the earth, of countries, their productions and governments—of the elements of history and chronology—of the simplest astronomical facts and those of natural philosophy—of arithmetic—in a word, of all the groundwork of education, cannot be conveyed by the native languages, when they are capable of subtle disquisitions on theology, logic, astronomy, and other abstruse questions. We want such practical truths as these to raise the people to the power of thought and the free exercise of their own intelligent minds,—truths to show them, Mahomedans as well as Hindoos, the absurdity of the belief inculcated by their only teachers, the Mahomedan Moolahs and the Brahmins. If there are noble sentiments to be found in the range of the

Mahomedan or the Sanscrit literature, are these taught by the ignorant and bigoted teachers of the indigenous schools ?

It is this monopoly of learning which the Government has to break through, ere it can establish any system of national education, or contribute to the enlightenment of the people. To perpetuate Arabic and Sanscrit for the purpose of educating the people, is but to rivet the fetters of their intellectual slavery, to bring them still more under the dominion of their priesthood. The exclusive patronage of English might even tend to the result we dread, but with less mischievous effects ; for few but the learned classes would pursue it as a study and for the sake of the knowledge it brought them ; it is therefore that we advocate a medium for the people which they can understand, and which will convey to them practical, useful and true knowledge. Bitter will be the opposition of the priesthood of both sects to any general scheme of Government education, and all that bigotry and superstition can effect to compass their ends will be unscrupulously resorted to ; but the course of the Government is clear, and should be firmly and unshrinkingly followed.

Mr. Hodgson's eloquent letters on the necessity of a vernacular education were published in 1837, and pointed out convincingly the way to the end most desired by all who had really at heart the instruction of the people of India. If he advocated somewhat exclusively vernacular instruction, he wrote in an earnest and philanthropic spirit, and none have shown more completely the evils existing in the social condition of the people than he has, nor more clearly indicated their remedies. He would have the people taught in their own tongues ; he would have the powers and funds of Government applied to the formation of normal schools under the superintendence of the Education Committee, and the energies of that Committee exerted in the training of teachers for the *people* (not for the Brahmins themselves), no matter what their sects or caste, and in the translation of useful elementary books. He would have this commenced on a scale commensurate with the public requirement ; he would not support Arabic and Sanscrit, being convinced that it is hopeless to expect any good to the people from their perpetuation. Thus far we follow him ; but we

would go further, and urge the necessity of building an English edifice on this vernacular foundation,—of having English classes in every school for advanced pupils; being convinced that the light diffused through translations into the vernacular tongues would create a desire for the study of English. There must be a foundation, and where are we to find it if not in the language of the people themselves? Not surely in Arabic or Sanscrit, or in English—all foreign or dead languages: as well might the Government of England neglect its national language, and form a plan of national education through French, German, Latin or Greek. We cannot enlist national feeling on the side of English,—we may on that of the vernacular languages; and to these, by translations which Mr. Hodgson proposes, we may safely commit the result. No one has ever argued any danger from the attempt; and if to conciliate the natives of India as well as instruct them be the primary object, surely it is more readily obtained by this practically useful plan than by any other.

In a report made by Mr. Adam on the condition of the indigenous village schools Lord Auckland remarked, that, “although he was impressed with the low stage of instruction “as it exists amongst the immense masses of the Indian “population, yet he could not but feel that the period had not “arrived when the Government could join in these attempts of “reform with reasonable hopes of practical good.” The mass of the people may indeed be too poor to receive knowledge or to care about it, but there is little hope of its surmounting its poverty unassisted. It is not however the entirely poor classes that are educated at village schools, or the generality of the peasantry; they in fact desire no education, and in few instances receive any. But the sons of respectable artisans, grain-dealers and other merchants, small landed proprietors, and all whose pursuits require at least a knowledge of reading, writing and accounts, surely deserve consideration. It betrays an ignorance of the nature of Indian society to institute any comparison of it with European society; its structure is essentially different, from the conditions which caste has imposed. The diffusion of knowledge to the higher class only, whether of wealth or sanctity, (and the latter holds the highest moral position,) is the very monopoly of education

we complain of,—that which has kept the people in their state of ignorance, and prevented the light of Christianity from dispelling the gloom of Hindooism and the bigotry of Mahomedanism. The only way to break the monopoly is to recognize no higher class in a scheme of national education,—to diffuse instruction to all classes in proportion to their wants. But the aim of the Government, as expressed by its educational committee, is to establish a system of *national* education. This cannot be confined to the upper classes : a national education means the education of the people, and in India, less than anywhere in the world, do the upper classes represent the people.

By the ancient system of Government, education was provided for the people at the public cost. Every village school was endowed by the Government ; it had free lands for its support, and the teacher was one of the established village officers ; there were colleges for the priesthood and provision for the learned. True, it was a system to support the priesthood in its sanctity and inaccessibility ; it was a monopoly of the highest branches of learning as far as the colleges were concerned ; but the village schools taught all that was needed by the people under those governments, and the classes, whose necessities directed them there were educated freely. If this is not the case now, will the claim of the people to a system of Government education be denied ? We have professed to keep inviolate the institutions of the country,—ought these funds to be devoted to other objects, however the application of them may be changed ?

The concluding and greater portion of Lord Auckland's Minute is devoted to arguments in support of the spread of English among the people ; as if he had said, "both parties are powerful and nearly balanced, and although I have given what they sought to the elder and more influential, yet I must satisfy the other with fair words." The study of English is extolled,—its influence and use declared to be of the highest importance :—

"English acquirements are underrated ; the familiarity with the general principles of legislature and government, and the power of offering information or opinions in English reports, must be qualifications as directly useful, as (not to speak of an improved moral character) to insure the possessors

of them a preference for the most lucrative public employment after they shall have acquired that knowledge of life and business, and that good opinion among those who have had opportunities of witnessing their conduct, which mere book-learning can never bestow."—*Minute.*

Again :—

"Having thus applied suitable aids for the acquisition of the knowledge most requisite in public life, I would look with assured confidence to the recognition by the community of the advantages of an advanced English education, comprising those branches of study which would place an instructed native gentleman on a level with our best European officers."—*Minute.*

It would be useless to multiply extracts ; there is throughout the latter part of the *Minute* a pervading impression of the necessity of English to ultimate advancement. Yet how does the following read in comparison ?—

"One mode which has been ably contended for is that of engrafting European knowledge on the studies of the learned classes—of the Moulvees and Pundits of India. I confess that from such means I anticipate very partial and imperfect results. I would in the strictest good faith and to the fullest extent make good the promise of upholding, while the people resort to them, our established institutions of Oriental learning. I would make those institutions equal sharers with others in any general advantages or encouragements which we are satisfied ought to be afforded to the promotion of due efficiency in study. I would, from the funds which have been before allowed to them, assist in them, as I have already said, any judicious plans for ameliorating the course of study, as by aiding the publication of works which may seem likely to be decidedly useful to the students, nor am I at all disposed to undervalue the amount of sound education and morality which is to be acquired at these seminaries, even *without* calling in the resources of European science and literature. I will not profess deep respect for the mere laborious study of a difficult language or the refinements of scholastic learning. But sensible as I assuredly am of the radical errors and deficiency of the Oriental systems, I am aware that the effect of encouraging all advanced education, and I will add especially of a Mahomedan education, is in cherishing habits of reflection, of diligence and of honourable emulation ; that it tends also to elevate the tone of moral character, though its practical effect is unfortunately too frequently marred by the domestic and social habits of Oriental life. Judging, however, from the common principles of human nature, and from such experience as is referred to in the case of Mr. Wilkinson at Bhopal, it is not to the students of our Oriental colleges, trained, as it will be admitted they are, in a faculty system, to which they are yet naturally and ardently attached, that I would look for my chief instruments in the propagation of new knowledge and more enlarged ideas. It was not through the professors of our ancient schools, but by the efforts of original thought and

independent minds, that the course of philosophical and scientific investigation and of scholastic discipline was for the most part reformed in Europe. The process of translation, it is to be added, into the learned languages must unavoidably be so slow, that on that account alone the arguments in favour of a more direct method of proceeding appear to me conclusively convincing."—*Minute*.

Dr. Duff remarks, in one of his letters on the proceedings of the two Governors-General:—

"‘Let us,’ says Lord William Bentinck, ‘disendow error and endow only truth:’—‘Let us,’ replies the Earl of Auckland, ‘re-endow error and continue the endowment of truth too;’ a decision so wholly at variance with every maxim of truth and righteousness,—a decision so utterly repugnant with the progressive spirit of the age,—what valid plea—what plausible grounds can be adduced to justify? Justify! it surely must scorn all justification as impossible, and any attempt at justification as the most ludicrous farce. But seeing that vindication is impossible, does it not admit of some palliatives? If palliatives there be, they may be summed up in a single sentence: that it was very kind and amiable to soothe the expiring sorrows of the superannuated remnant of the race of Orientalists. *Most* kind and amiable do we admit this to be, but beyond this admission where are we to look for palliatives?"—*Duff's Letter*, No. 1.

If social habits are not the result of education, then we apprehend is the science of education vain. To what end is it exerted if not to ameliorate the morals and social habits of nations? and will it be pretended that in India it has had this effect,—that the people have been raised out of vice, sensuality and superstition by Oriental education, during the ages it has prevailed in India, aided even in latter times by the exertions of Anglo-oriental educationists and the whole of the Government colleges of morality, Arabic and Sanscrit?

Impressed as Lord Auckland declared himself to be with the necessity of promoting the cultivation of English, he did not in his *Minute* give one rupee towards it. He promised funds for the reprint of Oriental, Arabic and Sanscrit works, and for translations into these tongues; but we find no aid offered to English or to the vernacular languages. Nevertheless, with a strange inconsistency, the utility of employing the vernacular languages is repeatedly and emphatically admitted: we quote an instance or two:—

"But a question may well be raised, whether in the Zillah schools the subject-matter of instruction ought not to be conveyed principally through the vernacular rather than the English medium."

Again :—

“ I am quite of opinion, that a very valuable amount of useful knowledge may be easily conveyed when good class-books, and persons competent to teach from them, are provided through the means of the vernacular languages.”

Again :—

“ It is an argument for the use of the vernacular medium in such schools, that, after the first expense of preparing school-books has been incurred, instruction in that manner would, it may be expected, be more economical than through English, which requires the employment of an English master on a salary at least two or three times as high as would be adequate for a native teacher who had received an English education, and was at the same time master of his own tongue.”

Again :—

“ I confess that I regard it as a serious defect in our plans, that we have compiled no proper series of vernacular class-books. It is obvious that, as we have vernacular classes, the books in them should not only be correct and elegant in style, but should be themselves of the most useful descriptions. The works should be either selections from English books of instruction already published, or original compilations adapted for native pupils. In either case the first selection or compilation in English would be borne in part by the Education funds of Bengal, and in part by those of other presidencies, especially by those of Bombay, where such works must be urgently required for the vernacular schools (Maharatta) of the interior.”—*Minute*.

No doubt can therefore be entertained of Lord Auckland's desire for the cultivation of the vernacular and English languages ; it is only a matter of regret that he diverted from this purpose those funds which the lapsed scholarships of the Oriental colleges placed at his disposal.

We have said enough to show how strongly we feel it to be the duty of the Government to extend education as freely as possible to the people of India, and to direct the means for accomplishing that object into the purest channels. The position of the Government is no longer one of mere apathy, nor their culpability that of simple neglect. The people themselves have shown their earnest desire for European enlightenment conveyed through the English and vernacular languages ; and not to second their efforts, is in fact actively to resist them. The Governor-General has a noble career open to him, if he will but view it apart from prejudice and party, inasmuch as to humanize a people is a more glo-

rious work than that of conquest. It is a task worthy of a great and enlightened Government, and can be accomplished by that Government alone. Individual assistance can do little; and although some persons may share the noble liberality of Mr. Hodgson (who subscribed 5000 rupees for the object of education), such aid can effect only a partial amount of good. But we say further, that private aid ought not to be expected: the conquest and possession of India entail upon its governors the duty of providing for its social wants and promoting its social interests. Unless this be done, the justification of our tenure must be sought in the plea of tyranny; and we conquer but to suppress the desire for enlightenment in those we govern, instead of going forth as apostles of civilization in its widest and highest forms. It is to the Government that the cause must look for that steady support which can alone give a proper efficiency to measures of education, or raise it to the position it ought to occupy; nor should those angry passions which have disgraced a holy cause be suffered any longer to appear.

We cannot close this article without a tribute of admiration to Dr. Duff, a clergyman of the Scottish Church, the head of the General Assembly's Mission in India, and who is actively employed in furthering its plans for the extension of education among the natives. His eloquent advocacy of the cause must receive the hearty concurrence of every Christian. We only wish, desiring as we do the promotion of the Christian faith in India, that his advice *could* be followed, that the Government *could* introduce a religious with a secular education. But we regret that we cannot join Dr. Duff in his plan of making the Christian religion a primary effort of Government; had he travelled through the length and breadth of the land, mingled intimately with the people, beyond the pale of immediate English influence and instruction; had he studied the peculiar prejudices and manners of the people, he would we think have modified his opinions on this point. He has not sufficiently estimated the weight of prejudice which would be thrown into the scale against any national system of education joined with the teaching of a new religion. The attempt, we are convinced, would prove an utter failure. Mr. Hodgson says:—

"I point solemnly to the uniform language of the laws, the unchanging voice of history, and the general tenor of what we daily see and hear among the people, as concurring to prove beyond a question, that the prejudices and prepossessions of this land are the profoundest, the most exclusive and most pervading of any upon record."

This is perfectly true; hedged round by an indomitable pride, a false belief and rank bigotry, the native of India revolts at an attempt to convert him to a religion which he as much holds to be an abomination as we do his. However desirous of knowledge, he will not accept it at the price of abandoning the proud faith of his fathers. Dr. Duff may only be acquainted with the half-anglicised natives of Calcutta, where Hindooism already totters, and the Christian belief has made some progress; he cannot there judge of the pride of that faith, of the profound ignorance which adds to that pride, and leads its votaries to hold in unmitigated contempt all who dare even to study the tenets of another. To know this, he must leave the great cities and marts of European trade and civilization, and travel into the lands where the Hindoo faith is firm and the Brahmins are all-powerful. Here he will find his true enemy, and be enabled to judge of the possibility of establishing a system of national education, the primary element of which all Moslems and Hindoos hold in contempt, if not abhorrence.

In proof of our assertion, we point (and we may add with deep sorrow) to the result of all Eastern missions where a secular education has not been the groundwork of proceeding. In the people of India we have not untutored savages to deal with,—men destitute of any faith; we find, on the contrary, a highly civilized people, often profound thinkers, clear discriminators, whose prejudices are the result of those social ties which form the basis of their best affections,—a proud, earnest, exclusive people, who have resisted successfully every Mahomedan attempt to convert them. Is such a people to be at once assailed in their stronghold? If assailed, can any result be anticipated but total failure? We wish we could think otherwise, and that Christianity *could* at once be urged upon the people. If it had been possible, would the earnest prayers and exertions of such men as Brown, Buchanan, Martyn, Thomason and a host of others, who have died martyrs to the cause, have been in vain? Should we not

have seen thousands of Christian converts where we now see tens? Alas! after years of toil, of expenditure of means beyond count, of the hard exertions of eloquent and zealous men, many of them among the highest Oriental scholars this land has produced, that the stream of Christianity should be a dribbling brook in comparison with the torrents of Mahomedanism and Hindooism! And where does the failure lie? not in the nature of the instruction conveyed—not in the zealous though perhaps mistaken teachers of it; but, we apprehend, in a mistaken course of proceeding. The experience of fifty years has shown that the stronghold of the Hindoo religion is not to be assailed by our *religion*, and secular instruction must be tried. We see no other means by which the influence of the Brahminical priesthood is to be destroyed than to make knowledge accessible to all; their peculiar province of teachers and moral guides then becomes obsolete; until their power is weakened, it is useless to hope for general conversion. Open the stores of knowledge to all freely, and present what is desired in an intelligible form, and there will soon be raised a body of youth whose desire for knowledge will hardly be satisfied by what can be supplied to them by the Government; upon these the exhortations, the exertions of the English religious teachers may hope to prevail with more force than on untutored and superstitious minds. Meanwhile we heartily wish success to those educational societies which, taught by the past, are not above joining secular to religious instruction, and the success of that institution in Calcutta which has Dr. Duff at its head is an earnest for the success of many others.

We do not say, however, that the Government should follow precisely the examples of these institutions. To dispel secular error and to disseminate truth is its grand duty, which every consideration of humanity, justice, necessity and philanthropy imperatively urge; and not truth in science and acquirement alone, but sound morality and religion—the principles, without the tenets, of the Christian faith. Conversion must follow when enlightenment has prepared the way. For the Government to attempt the spiritual conversion of the people could only end in discomfiture: we see that conversion has not preceded intelligence, and the other system is worth

a trial. We urge them to give it, to aid the attempts to extend secular education with all their power, and to follow closely in its steps, sowing the seed in order to reap the harvest. By this system only can we discover a means of conciliating those national feelings and soothing those prejudices which have ever rancorously opposed the spread of the Gospel. We know not how Dr. Duff could so entirely have lost sight of the power of the priesthood and the prejudices of the people as not even to allude to them in his letters, and almost to take for granted that, if the Government established with a national-secular a national-religious system of Christian education, its power would have an effect which hitherto has been impossible to all sects of Christian missionaries.

We shall, in conclusion, give an extract from Dr. Duff's letters, or rather from his own commentary upon two of them. He advocates a religious education throughout; our argument does not go so far, but we meet him on the ground that there has been a retrogression where there should have been a progression. Dr. Duff thus sums up his subject:—

“1st. Up to March 1835, the open, avowed and leading (though not exclusive) object of the British Government in India was the inculcation of Oriental literature and science through the media of Sanscrit, Arabic and Persian, in the higher instruction of native youth belonging to the privileged classes of Hindoos and Mahomedans. Who has presumed to gainsay the correctness of my statements on this head? not one!

“2nd. The great object of Lord William Bentinck's enactment of the 7th of March 1835 was to supersede the use of Oriental literature and science through the media of the learned languages, in the higher instruction of native youth, and to substitute European literature and science through the medium of the English language instead. Who has ventured to call in question the truth of my representation on this head? not one!

“3rd. One of the two definite measures of Lord Auckland's Minute is to rescind the abrogatory clauses of Lord William Bentinck's enactment, and to restore Oriental literature and science through the media of the learned languages, in the higher education of the privileged youth, to exactly the same position of ascendancy which they occupied previous to the 7th of March 1835. Who has dared to deny that this is a faithful announcement of the purport and design of one portion of his lordship's minute? not one!

“But not only was the act of restoration passed without any valid grounds or reasons whatsoever in its favour, it was passed in the face and in spite of reasons of resistless cogency—reasons of which the strength may be concentrated in the notorious fact that the Orientalism to learn

which students are hired, and to teach which professors are salaried out of the revenues of the state, abounds throughout with radical errors and fatal untruths; that these errors and untruths—things false in history and chronology, in geography and astronomy, in logic and metaphysics, in civil and criminal law, in morals and religion,—are systematically inculcated on the minds of thousands of unsuspecting youth, not as the fabled fictions of poetry or the dreams of a vain philosophy, but as absolute truths, the belief of which is enforced by the overawing influence of sages and the uncontrollable authority of the gods! Now who has ventured, except by the vulgar acts of evasion or abusive epithets, to impugn the substantial accuracy of this proposition? Not one; and if no one has, or dares, then I challenge the world on any principles of reason or justice or goodness or common sense, to controvert the grand inference which I deduce therefrom,—that for a Government or a public society, or private individuals, to expend their resources in inculcating on the minds of native youths, as truth, as absolute or sacred verities, what they themselves believe, and cannot but believe, to be errors and lies, is degrading, ignominious, sinful and cruel.”

Dr. Duff is right; no one has met his arguments except by sneers against religion and abusive epithets, which are powerless and contemptible. He however in some degree provoked opposition, for his energy in parts approached rant; if his letters had been more concise, and his illustrative arguments less diffusive, his exertions would have been received in better temper by his opponents and have produced more good.

Our article would be incomplete without the following Government advertisement upon the subject of the Scholarships.

“NOTICE.—The following Scholarships will be open to public competition in the following Government Institutions, on the 1st of Oct. 1841:

	Oriental.		English.		Total.
	Jun.	Sen.	Jun.	Sen.	
Madrasah	1	1	1	1	4
Hindu College and College of Ma- hommud Mohsin, Hooghly	1	1	3	3	8
Sanscrit College (Calcutta)	1	1	0	0	2
Dacca	0	0	1	1	2
Benares	1	1	1	1	4
Total.....	4	4	6	6	20

“The value of these Scholarships will be eight rupees a month for the junior Scholarships, which will be held for four years, or under particular circumstances for a longer period; and fifteen rupees for the senior Oriental, and thirty rupees for the senior English Scholarships, which will be held

for two or more years. One senior Scholarship, given by the Rajah of Burdwan in the Hindoo College, will be valued at forty rupees a month, and will be held for four years.

"The qualifications and plan of examination for such Scholarships are as follows :—

"No candidate will be entitled to a Scholarship, whatever may be his superiority over others, unless his knowledge of the different branches of study mentioned in the following Scheme comes up to the standard therein described, or unless his knowledge of any one or more of those branches is, in the estimation of the Committee, so much above the standard as to compensate for his deficiency in other branches.

"SCHEME.—JUNIOR ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIPS.

"*English Reading*.—The candidate must be able to read with facility and correctness a passage of English prose, selected from Dryden, Swift, Addison or Johnson.

"*English Grammar*.—2. He must be able to parse correctly and correct false grammar.

"*History*.—3. He must know the leading facts of the Histories of Greece, Rome, England, and India; and the leading facts of universal history, such as the rise and decline of nations and religions.

"*Geography*.—4. He must know the form of the earth, its great divisions and their subdivisions into countries, the names of the capitals and principal cities of each country, and of the principal mountains and rivers.

"*Arithmetic*.—5. He must know the simple and compound rules.

"*Hindoostanee or Bengalee*.—6. He must be able to translate correctly from one of these languages into English, and from English into one of these languages.

"*Note*.—If the candidate is a pupil of any of the Zillah Schools, he will not be entitled to a Scholarship, unless he has a certificate of good conduct from the local committee.

"SENIOR ENGLISH SCHOLARSHIPS.

"*English Composition*.—The candidate must be able to compose an English essay, equal at least in style and matter to the prize-essays at the Hindoo College, in the examinations of 1838–1839.

"*History*.—He must be able to answer a set of questions equal in number and difficulty to those given in 1838–1839, to the students of the Hindoo College, as fully and correctly as those questions were answered by the student who obtained the prize.

"*General Literature*.—He must be able to explain passages of prose and verse, selected from Shakespeare, Bacon, Milton, Dryden, Swift, Addison, Johnson, and any other authors with any of whose works he may be acquainted.

"*Mathematics*.—He must have a knowledge of algebra, as far as simple and quadratic equations, of plane trigonometry, and of the first four books of Euclid.

"*Natural Philosophy*.—He must have a knowledge of mechanics, astronomy, hydrostatics, pneumatics and optics, as far as these subjects are

treated of in the popular introduction to natural philosophy, published by the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.

" ARABIC SCHOLARSHIP.

" Junior.

" 1. An intimate knowledge of Seref Noho ; and can read and explain any part of Mufa tul yeminee.

" 2. Translate an easy tale from the vernacular into the Arabic, and from the Arabic into the vernacular language.

" 3. Know the principles of practical arithmetic.

" Senior.

" 1. The candidates for these Scholarships must be able to translate and analyse Tareekh Tymoree and Dewanee Mutanubee with facility and correctness.

" 2. Possess a knowledge of the principles of some one of the sciences.

" 3. Translate and compose a short passage into Arabic with correctness.

" SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIPS.

" The qualifications of the junior scholars are as follows :—

" 1. *Grammar.*—An intimate knowledge of grammar ; and the candidate must read and understand readily any part of the easier class-books read in the Sahetya or General Literature class.

" 2. *Translation.*—Translate from the vernacular to the Sanscrit language, and from the Sanscrit to the vernacular, with correctness.

" 3. *Arithmetic.*—Know the principles of practical arithmetic.

" Senior Scholarships.

" The following qualifications will be required for obtaining this class of Scholarships :—

" 1. *Grammar.*—Are able to translate and analyse any common Sanscrit work with facility.

" 2. *Science.*—Possess a knowledge of the principles of one of the sciences.

" 3. *Composition.*—Translate and compose in Sanscrit with facility and correctness."

It must be borne in mind that these are additional scholarships to those already existing, and relate to Calcutta alone, but open to competition in all the other Government colleges. It is not to the establishment of these scholarships, or to the nature of the acquirement demanded by them, that we would attract notice, except in terms of commendation ; but we request a careful perusal of the knowledge required, and a reflection whether the remuneration is commensurate with it. Eight rupees or sixteen shillings per month, the wages of an ignorant table-servant in India, is a miserable pittance to induce any young man to undertake a mastery of the English

language, when he could obtain, by a smattering of it and a knowledge of writing, twice or thrice as much as a mere copyist or book-keeper. The advance from sixteen shillings to sixty appears great, but is not equivalent to the increased amount of learning required. By the second it is hardly too much to say that some knowledge of the whole of English literature is embraced,—prose, poetry, composition, history, mathematics to a large extent, and in natural philosophy a range which is enough to appal the student. All this is to be acquired in a foreign language, with no help of any kind. If a high standard of examination is required, the encouragement ought to be proportionate.

It is melancholy to see this exhibition of poverty on the part of the Government of Bengal, and of the niggardly spirit in which the wants of the people are supplied. £24,000 a-year was given years ago to prop up Arabic and Sanscrit, by paying people to learn them. Is nothing to be given for the use of English and the languages of the people? Will the Directors shut their eyes and ears to the necessities of the people of India in this vital respect? When disaffection is feared, will they longer delay the institution of a system of national education on a broad basis, which, more than a thousand enactments, would attach the people to them by the bond of a common union? Seek to raise them to a high standard, and they will rise from their own grovelling faith, their ignorance, to our light. Our own standards of acquirement show that we believe them capable of this: they want only encouragement, assistance, and by God's blessing those who are now in power may live to rejoice that they were instrumental in that good work, which would raise a practically ignorant people to knowledge, an utterly blinded and priest-ridden people to a participation in a pure faith and its glorious hopes.

ARTICLE VI.

1. *History of Holland from the beginning of the Tenth to the end of the Eighteenth Century.* By C. M. DAVIES. 1841-44. 3 vols. 8vo. London: Parker.
2. *Histoire des Pays-Bas depuis les tems anciens jusqu'à la création du royaume des Pays-Bas en 1815.* Par l'Abbé J. H. JANSSENS. 3 vols. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1840.
3. *Histoire de la Flandre et de ses Institutions civiles et politiques jusqu'à l'année 1305.* Par L. A. WARNKENIG. Traduite de l'Allemand, avec corrections et additions de l'auteur, par A. E. GHELDOLF. 2 vols. 8vo. Bruxelles, 1836.

IF we adopt the common notions of a Dutchman or Fleming, we must describe a variety of the human race whose nether integuments are out of all proportion to the upper, whose tastes are for tulips, schnaps and pictures of good cheer, and whose ideal of life is retirement in a painted country-house, in a trim garden guarded by a wooden sentry, and overlooking a wide prospect of meadows, windmills, poplars and water. And with many people this would pass for a correct portraiture. We may therefore be suspected of paradox if we affirm that no portion of European history, ancient or modern, affords purer examples of national and personal heroism than that of Holland; that none will better repay the study of the jurist, the antiquary, or the economist; and that the records of Antwerp, Ghent and Leyden are quite as interesting and even more instructive than those of Genoa, Florence and Pisa.

At a time therefore when the histories of France, Italy and Germany have been presented to us in their most attractive forms by such writers as Guizot, Sismondi, Michelet and Ranke, we are glad to welcome any work that may help to revive our interest in the history of Holland and the Netherlands. Nor is our welcome less cordial because the task has been undertaken by a lady, who, as might be supposed, has rather trodden in the footsteps of others than explored herself the almost interminable maze of Dutch charters

and chronicles. In three stout and readable octavo volumes Mrs. Davies has given us the substance of the histories of Bor, Meteren, Brandt, Hooft, Wagenaar, and others,—many of them classical compositions, but in an idiom little known. She has availed herself with great industry of such contemporary memoirs as throw light upon her principal authorities, and, although relying rather too much upon Dutch sources alone, and too minute in her accounts of battles and sieges, has conceived and compiled her narrative in a good spirit. Until supplanted by more original and independent researches, Mrs. Davies' volumes may be safely followed as a useful text-book for present knowledge and a serviceable clue to future inquiries.

The work of the Abbé Janssens is more comprehensive, since it includes the history of the Netherlands as well as of Holland; but their records are in the more important periods so intimately connected, that Mrs. Davies' volumes include nearly as much Flemish as Dutch history. Janssens' work is however much the more complete in those sections which relate to the local and federal constitution of the several states. Yet, strictly speaking, it is less a history than a very full and careful summary of Dutch and Flemish annals: and the abrupt brevity of the paragraphs and minute division of the chapters give it the air of a manual for lectures rather than of what its title professes—a '*Histoire des Pays-Bas.*' The good Abbé is sometimes sorely perplexed between his liking for monarchy and stubborn facts, between his convictions that Barneveldt and De Witt were in the right, and his bias to the ascendancy of the House of Orange. His work however is more original than that of Mrs. Davies, and is an excellent companion and supplement to it. Mr. Warnkœnig's '*Histoire de la Flandre,*' of which we have seen only the French translation, is a much more profound and critical production than either the '*History of Holland*' or the '*Histoire des Pays-Bas*'; but it deals rather with the foundations of the history than with the history itself. Both in French and in English indeed a history of Holland remains to be written.

We shall therefore avail ourselves of the works enumerated at the head of this article as text-books only for exhibiting the characteristics and capacities of the subject; not indeed

attempting to show *how* a history of Holland should be written, nor *why* out of Holland itself it is still a desideratum, but, from certain salient points and sections of Dutch and Flemish annals, alleging reasons wherefore it is worth writing. Our extracts, as in duty bound to our industrious countrywoman, will be taken from Mrs. Davies' pages, but we shall lay the Abbé Janssens' under liberal contribution for the purposes of correction, amplification or disquisition.

The history of commercial states is generally veiled in obscurity. The peaceful routine of municipal institutions and industrious enterprize cannot compete in interest with the moving accidents of war and conquest. But for its collision with Rome, Carthage would be as little known to us as its metropolis Tyre, and the three Punic wars are almost the only record of a republic whose trade, institutions and social development must have presented some of the most instructive and interesting phænomena of antiquity. In one circumstance especially our comparative ignorance of Holland and the Flemish provinces, wherever their history is not inseparably mixed up with that of France or England or Spain, proceeds from a similar cause to that of the indifference of Greek and Roman writers to the polity and chronicles of Carthage. The Punic language, though more extensively spoken along the shores of the Mediterranean than the Low Dutch or Flemish idioms in Northern Europe, was always an alien dialect to Athens and Rome; and the speech of Antwerp or Amsterdam has never been employed in European diplomacy and literature. To this isolation of their mother-tongue the Dutch people have themselves directly contributed. Although singularly fertile in vernacular poets and historians, and retaining some of the purest elements of the Teutonic race of languages, their most distinguished writers have preferred the Latin or French idioms. They have even hidden their patronymics and baptismal names under strange enigmas. The parents of Erasmus christened him Gherard Gherardts. Jan Van Gorp, who wrote a book to prove that Adam and Eve spoke Dutch in Paradise, shrank from his paradisiacal appellation, and signed himself Toropius Becanus, and Ian Oudewater baffles the heralds' college under the sonorous title of Johannes Palæonydorus. But a people that forgoes its mother-tongue

forgoes its birthright, and must endure obscurity if not oblivion. In defence of the Dutch however it may be alleged that their language, though rich in its vocabulary, is singularly harsh and uncouth in prosody and enunciation. We are all more or less under the influence of association: the parties of the Neri and Bianchi, of the Montecchi and Capelletti, are hallowed by poetry and recommended by euphony; but the Dutch are very unlucky in their party designations. Their towns in the fourteenth century were divided between the Hook and Cod factions; and in the fifteenth they were waging the Bread-and-Cheese (*Casembrotspel*) war. It has ever been the tendency of Northern Europe to copy the arts and literature of the south, and neither the language, the geographical position, nor the continental influence of Holland have been favourable to its historical reputation.

The history of Holland alone indeed, were an example wanting, would confirm the truth of Sallust's remark, that states owe their name with posterity as much to the great writers they have produced as to the great deeds which they have done. Predilections, so early implanted by education as to be almost innate, attract us to the communities in which European civilization was originally developed, and where, after centuries of decline and dissolution, it again first revived. Hence while the Greek and Italian republics fill a prominent place in the annals of Europe, the history of the United Provinces and the Netherlands is comparatively unknown. While however we duly pay our debt of reverence to the birth-places of freedom and science, we are more tardily and meanly just to the Teutonic parents of our civilization. Our speech has been enriched, our social life refined, and our perception of the beautiful quickened by the ancient and modern genius of Southern Europe; but the institutions in which we surpass "insolent Greece and haughty Rome" were nurtured and fashioned among the rivers and forests of the North by races nearest akin to ourselves. And were these considerations insufficient to awaken in us a near interest in the annals of a kindred people, their connexion with our own history would establish an immediate claim upon our sympathies. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Holland—its institutions, its sufferings and its struggles—were the cynosure of all

English eyes. It was regarded as our firmest bulwark and ally against Spain and the Pope, and Sir Philip Sidney merely uttered the general feeling of his countrymen when he affirmed the *Vox populi* to be the *Vox Dei* in the Revolution of the Netherlands, and on his conviction of the divine presence among the oppressed Hollanders grounded his assurance of their final triumph. And many mutual benefits had already bound the English and Dutch people to one another. From England the United Provinces first received the light of the Christian faith, and, in return, they imparted to us more generous principles of civil liberty and commerce, set us the example of ecclesiastical reform, and sheltered the exiles for conscience' sake from the bigotry of Gardiner and Bonner. At a later period commercial jealousies occasionally estranged England from her ancient ally, and the dissensions and decline of the Dutch people cast a veil over their earlier renown. But to the student of English history the names of the first William of Orange, Olden-Barneveldt, and of John de Witt should be as household words: the deliverance of Leyden and the defence of Haarlem should be second only to the victories of Cressy and Agincourt; nor should it be deemed less unworthy to be ignorant of the discomfiture of Philip and Parma than of the flight of Xerxes and the fall of Darius.

And, besides claims to a loftier sympathy, Holland and the Netherlands, from the æra of the Plantagenets to the campaigns of Marlborough, are continuously inwoven into our own annals. The victor of Cressy was the ally, and, as he styled himself, the "dear Gossip" of James Arteveldt, the brewer of Ghent. The looms and forges of the Low Countries afforded a constant market for the wool and ores of England, and our earliest manufactures were established and long conducted by Dutch and Flemish artisans. The presses of Antwerp were employed upon Coverdale's Bible; the conversation and writings of Erasmus refined the scholastic barbarisms of Henry VIII.'s clerks and courtiers; and the features of the burly despot, of his queens and household still live to us in the portraits of Holbein. Side by side, the English and Dutch people have fought for all the dearest rights of mankind: their bones whitened together among the sandhills of Nieuport and upon the ramparts of Ostend, and their combined fleets

requited invasion and oppression in Spanish harbours and on the Spanish Main. The landing of the Duke of Parma on our shores with the most disciplined army in Europe, while the Armada was in the Channel, was hindered by a Dutch fleet under Justin of Nassau; and the distress of his exchequer, from the loss of his wealthiest European provinces, alone prevented Philip from equipping a second armament. Nor have our feuds been less memorable than our alliances with Holland. The cruelties of Amboyna, the navigation act, and the attack on the Smyrna fleet reflect mutual disgrace on both nations. The names of Van Tromp and De Ruyter are chronicled with those of Blake and Duncan: the 'Mare liberum' and 'Mare clausum' is an obsolete controversy, but Grotius and Selden are exempt from oblivion. A stadtholder of Holland and a king of England, united in the same person, rescued and secured us from the Stuarts, and organized the confederacy that trampled finally on the pride of Louis; and the campaigns of Marlborough and Eugene were concerted in the presence of the pensionary Heinsius. Nor were the Dutch and Flemings distinguished only in war and commerce. They rivalled Southern Europe in the arts which dignify, and perhaps excuse, luxury. Glass-painting and carving in wood—arts which the ecclesiastical spirit of the present century labours to revive—attained their highest excellence in Holland in the fifteenth century. In the Flemish tapestry the needle and the shuttle rivalled not unworthily the easel and the chisel; and their manufactures of glass and china were little less prized than the elaborate workmanship of Venice and the East. The names of Rembrandt, Cuyp, Rubens and Vandyck are as familiar to English ears as those of Titian, Claude and Murillo; and, out of Italy and Greece, the most sacred ground in the scholar's eyes is the Hall of the University of Leyden, where the portraits of the professors, from Scaliger in his princely purple to Ruhnkenius, are ranged around that of William the Taciturn, the founder of the university.

A history of Holland usually opens with the year 1579, when the union of Utrecht laid the foundation of the Seven United Provinces. This epoch is, however, altogether erroneous. Holland was no Pallas among nations, starting at once into maturity and vigour: the growth of her institutions,

like that of her soil, was "onward and diligently slow." The bases of her greatness, commerce and municipal freedom, were complete when the first sovereign of the Burgundian line inherited or usurped the dominions of her ancient Counts. Her revolt from Spain displayed and secured her existing institutions, but neither created nor materially changed them. From the thirteenth century the Dutch had been trained to municipal administration; and beside the town-governments, their ecclesiastical classes and consistories were, after the Reformation in the sixteenth century, nurseries of practical statesmen and skilful diplomatists. As in Greece, the establishment of a republic unfettered by foreign dominion was followed immediately by the development of intense political energy. The breaking of the Spanish yoke, far from being the initiatory, was in fact the complectory act of national independence to the Dutch. Hitherto they had been locally free; from the peace of Munster in 1648, they were politically independent.

For the purposes however of our brief survey, we may mark three æras in the history of Holland as especially characteristic of the people,—her struggle with the sea, the revolt of the Netherlands from Spain, and their collision with the French monarchy under Louis XIV. The first of these periods is symbolic of the entire history of the Dutch people. The mixture of active and passive heroism which subdued and made tributary the elements, reappeared in the moral contest with Philip and Louis. The whole tenour of Dutch history is indeed a struggle against material power, whether of winds and waves or of superstition and oppression, with means and instruments apparently the most unequal. The elder Pliny, who visited its northern coasts, has left us a description of Holland in the first century of our æra, and the panegyrist Eumenius, more than two centuries afterwards, attests its accuracy by repeating its details. The spirit of Pliny's account may be inferred from his concluding remark:—"And these people, who dwell on what is neither land nor water, who eat the fish that swim by their floating cabins and drink the rain collected in their ditches, would deem themselves enslaved if the Romans conquered them. Verily fortune

"sometimes spares in order to punish*." Fifteen centuries afterwards, at a time when commercial and political jealousies had estranged England from her ancient confederate, an English satirist amused his countrymen with the following amplification of the Roman naturalist's picture. But the lines of Marvel are "Janus-fronted," and are eulogy as well as satire; for a people who upon the deposits of the ocean and the wreck of the land built Amsterdam and Haarlem and the numerous inferior towns, among which the Hague ranks only as a village, could afford, because they could refute, the ridicule of a pamphleteer.

Holland that scarce deserves the name of land,
 As but the off-scouring of the British sand;
 And so much earth as was contributed
 By English pilots when they heaved the lead;
 Or what by th' ocean's slow alluvion fell
 Of shipwrecked cockle and the mussell-shell:
 This indigested vomit of the sea
 Fell to the Dutch by just propriety.
 Glad then as miners who have found the ore,
 They, with mad labour, fished the land to shore;
 And dived as desperately for each piece
 Of earth, as if it had been of ambergris:
 Collecting anxiously small loads of clay,
 Less than what building swallows bear away," etc.

Within twelve centuries after Pliny drew his picture of desolation and precarious subsistence, Holland and Zealand, to which provinces it particularly applies, had made every production and nearly every portion of the world their tributaries. They had become the purveyors and carriers of the necessities of life between the eastern and western coasts of the neighbouring seas; the northern waters swarmed with their fishing-boats, the Baltic with their corn-ships; the rivers that flow through southern lands from the Vistula to the Seine received the cargoes of their merchantmen, and the Rhine, the Scheldt and the Maes were the high-roads of their own territories. The foundations of the Hanseatic

* Hist. Nat. xvi. 2. We cannot discover, among Mrs. Davies' classical references, this graphic passage of the Roman Buffon; nor, although Tacitus is copiously cited, any mention of the *Batavian* Civilis who saved his island by an artificial inundation, as 1500 years later William of Orange saved the city of Leyden. "The same conditions," says Schiller, "bring back the same events."

League were laid in the year 1241, and among its original members were several of the towns of Holland. In 1477 Philip of Burgundy wrote to the Pope, that "Holland and Zeeland were rich islands, inhabited by a brave and warlike people, who have never been conquered by their neighbours, and who follow their commerce on every sea." They sailed to Cyprus for wool, to Genoa for silks; they drank, at least they bought, more French and Rhenish wines than France and Germany together; and the coasts and ports of the ancient Phœnicians paid tribute to the merchants of a remote province which even *their* galleys had never visited. But besides the greater lines of their commerce, every harbour, bight and bay of Holland was studded with ships, every rivulet and canal was covered with boats: as many, it was commonly said, lived on the water as on the land. With zealous competition there was a prudent division of trade. Particular towns, as well as particular merchants and companies, applied themselves in preference to some one line of business. Thus Middleburgh was occupied with the wine trade, Swaardam with ship-building, Sluys with the herring-fishery, Amsterdam with the Spanish and Mediterranean trades. We shall notice presently their Indian and American stations and colonies; these were, commercially, gigantic offsets from the main stem; but the stem had attained colossal dimensions before the offsets were planted. The character of the people was in itself a source and condition of prosperity. Probity and punctuality in their dealings were dictates of self-interest, but their social and private habits were equally upright and methodical. The rich were moderate and frugal: many a man who sold the finest cloth wore himself a coarse coat: their charitable institutions were numerous; and the people of all orders were better educated than in any other nation in Europe. Few houses were without maps or charts; and acquaintance with at least the rudiments of geography, astronomy and mathematics was nearly as common as reading and writing*. Their numerous corporations accustomed the middle class to the business of law and police, and in a population where no one was idle few lost the feeling of self-respect.

* Grotius compiled his treatise "*De Veritate Religionis Christianæ*," specially for the *maritime* classes of his countrymen. See the Proœmium to that work.

It will perhaps convey some notion of the industry and wealth of Holland and the neighbouring provinces, as well as account for their resources in protracted wars, if we take a rapid survey of one branch of their trade, their herring-fishery. Did our limits permit, we should include their corn trade with the Baltic (in which, before the revolt of the Netherlands, Luigi Guicciardini says, fleets of 300 ships came twice a year to Amsterdam from Dantzic and Livonia alone) and their system of local and federal taxation: but these subjects we must leave to the political economist, only observing by the way that the Dutch of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were quite as enlightened on the subjects of corn and currency as the most hopeful disciples of Messrs. Cobden or Ricardo in our own country in the nineteenth. No pressure of adverse circumstances made them give ear to any Vansittart or Duke of Buckingham of those days.

The foundation of their maritime power was indeed their herring-fishery; and the discovery of the mode of curing and barrelling this fish towards the middle of the fourteenth century, by one Beukels or Beukelson, was not of less moment to Holland than the preparation of salt to Venice, or the introduction of the vine into France. Beukelson, though humbly born, was, at length, magnificently entombed; for the Emperor Charles V., who was as much a Fleming as a Spaniard in his feelings, being at Biervliet in the year 1550, caused a sumptuous monument to be placed over the grave of so great a benefactor to his country. In the latter half of the next century the great pensionary John de Witt estimated that the herring-fishery afforded a livelihood to every fifth Hollander; and his estimate was countenanced by the proverb that 'Amsterdam was built on herring-bones.' In the bays and inlets of the Dutch coast 3000 vessels were employed in taking herrings, and 1600 more fished on the English coast from Buchan Ness to the mouth of the Thames. In carrying salt to the fishermen and conveying the cured fish to the warehouse or the market, 1800 ships were employed; and the various processes of drying, packing, cask-making and net-making, including the ship-builders and sailors connected with the trade, were supposed to occupy 450,000 men. Substituting summer for winter and busses for argosies and galleons,

the ports and dockyards of Holland presented for two months before the first appearance of the herring-shoals a scene as populous and busy as the Venetian arsenal before the sailing of the Levantine and Euxine fleets.

“ Quale nell’ Arzanà de’ Viniziani
 Bolle l’ inverno la tenace pece
 A rimpalmar li legni lor non sani
 Che navicar non ponno, e ’n quella vece,
 Chi fa suo legno nuovo, e chi ristoppa
 Le coste a quel che più viaggi fece,
 Chi ribatte da proda, e chi da poppa,
 Altri fa remi, e altri volge sarte,
 Chi terzeruolo ed artimon rintoppa *.”

Mrs. Davies, who is rather too fond of the pomp and circumstance of war, treats this and other statistical parts of her subject too summarily, although she admits that war under any aspect was unnatural and ruinous to Holland, and ultimately politic only when presently inevitable. The history of the Dutch and Flemish states indeed is indirectly as cogent and complete an eulogium on Peace as any of the choruses or dramas which Aristophanes wrote purposely to recommend it. The policy which the good Athenian Dicæopolis adopted on his own behalf in the Peloponnesian war, was the true policy of Holland when not contending for the freedom of its altars and the sanctity of its households.

On the constitution of Holland Mrs. Davies’ volumes are much more complete and satisfactory. We regret that our limits will not permit us to transfer to our own pages any portion of her interesting chapter on this subject, but a partial extract would rather perplex than elucidate the question. Mrs. Davies, however, has omitted to observe that a very strong monarchical element pervaded the republican constitutions of the Dutch towns; and although the Abbé Janssens is more explicit on this point, he has not treated it with sufficient sense of its importance. In a moral revolution like the revolt of the Netherlands, and with a staid and serious people like that of the United Provinces, custom and prescription have almost incalculable weight, and it is incumbent on the historian to show not merely the casual direction, but the secret

* *Inferno*, Canto xxi. 7-15.

checks and counterpoise to the swiftness of the stream. We shall endeavour briefly to indicate one or two of the deficiencies in the constitutional chapters of Mrs. Davies and the Abbé.

In the first place the higher clergy, and a majority of the inferior clergy, were nominated by the sovereign. The sources and the mechanism of popular education were therefore immediately vested in a body of men appointed by the government, and that government foreign and distant. Even the power of the Pope was feeble in comparison with that of the suzerain, without whose permission the clergy could neither admit the papal rescripts nor acquire any new property or power. Again, the power of the sovereign was greater over the vassals of a territorial lord than was that of the lord himself, and it was therefore comparatively easy for the dukes of Burgundy or the kings of Spain to involve Holland in wars in which it had no interest at stake. Even in the penetralia and strongholds of Dutch and Belgic freedom, the municipal government of the towns, the sovereign exercised a direct influence,—an influence frequently admitted, or at least implied, in the most liberal charters and in the most valuable privileges. Nor were these rights of recent date when the revolt of the Netherlands broke out; but, welcomed at first by the people as salutary restraints upon the native feudal nobles, and established by prescription and sufferance, they had come to be regarded by the Dutch and Flemings as little less venerable and certain than the *lex scripta* itself. Thus Antwerp, which boasted of particular exemptions, could not nominate its own *Schoeppen* or local justices; but a council, composed chiefly of the senior justices, (the *consulares* and *emeriti* of their respective municipalities,) proposed two for each place at the yearly nomination, but the choice and the appointment were left to the sovereign. Even the burgomasters were elected in conformity with the sovereign's views. But upon these burgomasters and *schoeppen* the choice of the presidents of the *wicks*, and that of the fifty-four presidents of the guilds, was so far at least dependent that they decided on one out of every three candidates. And this dependency of the lesser on the greater magistracies, and of the latter on the sovereign without appeal, affords us a measure of the depth and universality of government influence. Valenciennes

alone seems to have possessed a general assembly; but its local influence was inconsiderable, and it was quite impotent as regarded the federal community. At Rotterdam the sovereign or his deputies nominated one out of the three names annually presented to them to fill up vacancies in the College of Councillors, and in Brussels the Court yearly nominated the seven Schoeppen out of the seven Septs.

We have not room to prosecute this portion of constitutional history further, but must refer our readers to Mr. Warnkœnig's work. The conclusion is obvious,—that the obstacles which surrounded and met at every turn the progress of independence in Holland were almost infinite, and nothing short of the despair engendered by Philip II.'s reckless bigotry could have broken down so many palpable or secret barriers. Until the accession of the Burgundian dynasty in 1433 to the rights and dominions of the ancient Counts of Holland, Dutch and Flemish annals have little immediate connexion with the main current of European events. From that period, however, until the decline of the United Provinces commercially and politically in the eighteenth century, the history of Holland and the Netherlands is intimately inwoven with that of France, England and Spain. The rapid aggrandisement of the Burgundian house by conquest, inheritance, purchase and marriage is remarkable on many accounts, and not the less remarkable because its new accumulations of territory and power were made in regions that never formed portions of the elder kingdom of Burgundy. By the surrender of the ill-fated countess Jacoba, whose history is more romantic than fiction, Philip duke of Burgundy became possessed of Holland, Zealand, Friezland and Hainault, and he was already, or shortly afterwards became, master of the most considerable states of the Netherlands,—of Flanders and Artois in right of his mother Margaret, sole heiress of Louis van der Male, count of Flanders,—of Namur, by purchase from Theodore, its last native prince,—of Brabant, by the death of Philip, brother of duke John, the husband of Jacoba, without issue,—and of Limburg, the margraviate of Antwerp and the lordship of Mechlin by the act of the States of Brabant, although Margaret, countess-dowager of Holland, stood next in succession, and no Salic law barred her claim. The process by

which the whole of this compact, populous and opulent inheritance passed from the Burgundian line into the Spanish in the person of Charles V., the son of Joanna of Castile and Philip the heir of Maximilian, is well known. We shall proceed therefore at once to the character of the Dutch and Flemish people, as it is described by contemporaries in the age of the revolution.

A diligent and enlightened foreigner*, whose birth in Italy and long residence in Flanders well qualified him to compare the republics of Northern with those of Southern Europe, has left us a description of the Netherlands at the period immediately preceding their final struggle with Spain. Seldom have races, standing to each other in the relation of rulers and subjects, exhibited stronger contrast or less aptitude for amalgamation than the Spaniards and Netherlanders. The Spaniards delighted in brilliant display and public prominence; they aspired to titles and offices of state less for the sake of power than of rank, and their gorgeous equipages and dress in public were often purchased by penury and privation at home. Alike ardent as friends or foes, they lent themselves readily to private quarrels; but for the theological controversies and municipal jealousies of the Hollanders and Flemings they had little relish: their creed of faith and government was comprised in the simple formula of one church and one king; and at Antwerp and Brussels they were the same chivalrous semi-civilized race that at Seville or Granada jousted with Moors and persecuted Jews. As Southern Europeans seeking their pleasures abroad, they were careless of the comforts and conveniences of home. The ritual of their church was the most imposing but the gloomiest form of Catholic worship: the spectacles of their theatre were either stately and warlike,—presenting in dramatic form grave mysteries of faith or heroic actions of kings and khalifs,—or comedies of intricate and rapid intrigue provocative of as much surprize as mirth. And far above devotional and scenic excitement they prized the tournament, the chase and the bull-fight; for, like Homer's heroes, they were emphatically "tamers of horses," and "rejoicing" (both in the semblance and the substance) of war. The Netherlanders, on the other hand,

* Luigi Guicciardini.

were wholly addicted to the comforts of private life. Their houses were filled and furnished with solid and cleanly household apparatus; their hospitality was frequent but not formal; and if they drank and "swore as terribly" as in the days of uncle Toby, their oaths and potations were in the spirit of good-fellowship, and led rather to brandishing of cudgels than drawing of daggers. They shunned not public offices, and were liberal and even splendid in discharging them; yet, having once served them, they gladly returned to a private station. Their interest, indeed, in public affairs arose more from anxiety to secure their commerce from illegal restraints, and their property from arbitrary imposts, than from desire for personal distinction; and this feeling remained after they became independent, for their envoys at foreign courts were wont to complain that their salaries compelled them to walk while other ambassadors kept their coaches. Their factions were inspired less by personal favour and affection than by abstruse questions in theology or general maxims of government. In war they were slow assailants but obstinate opponents; and although, as their fifty years' struggle with Spain proved, they were capable of the stoutest endurance and self-denial, their courage was rather passive than active, the result of reflection, not of impulse. Nor did they differ less in lighter matters from the Spaniards. The Fleming and the Hollander delighted to see oxen roasted whole in the market-place, wine spouting from the public fountains, men climbing poles and women running races for prizes. Of illuminations they were as fond as the Chinese; and the high tower of Antwerp, studded with lanterns on festival nights, flashed and glanced upon thousands of glad and admiring gazers. The pomp and scenery of worship accorded ill with their metaphysical creeds or spiritual zealotry; and to the chivalrous drama they preferred their rhetorical guilds, where allegorical personages—Faith, Hope, or Justice—delivered wise saws and pregnant maxims. Similar causes influenced their taste in the fine arts. Excluded by their religion from the wide field of church-painting, and patronized by the gentry and wealthy merchants rather than by princes and nobles, their painters occupied themselves with ordinary and even homely scenes of nature and life, in which minute detail and delicate finish took the place of ideal beauty

and grandeur. Between subjects and rulers so ill-suited, causes and "rumours of war" existed long before the actual struggle broke forth.

The possession of wealth, the excitement of trade, the consciousness of self-government in their municipalities, and their steadfast national temperament enabled the Hollanders and Flemings to endure with patience, if not with content, a series of aggressions on their privileges and purses; and since their receipts far exceeded their burdens, and their customs and charters, though often infringed or suspended, were never wholly abrogated, they preferred remonstrance and endurance to revolt. But the character and system of Philip II. were more calculated than those of any of his predecessors to excite aversion and justify resistance. Philip I. imposed new taxes to support his lavish expenditure, and abridged rights to gratify his passion for despotism. The capricious Maximilian was sometimes an arbitrary and sometimes a lax ruler, according as his ambition or his necessities prevailed; and Charles V. added religious bigotry to fiscal oppression. None of these monarchs, however, acted on any regular system of tyranny, and, when their interests required it, they could relax and even atone for existing grievances. Extraordinary demands of money were purchased by the restoration of suspended or the concession of new privileges, and under the most absolute sovereigns in Europe freedom rather gained than lost ground in the Low Countries. The Burgundian and Hapsburg princes were, on the whole, not unpopular with their Flemish subjects. They were proud of the splendid court and the chivalrous accomplishments of Philip I.; of the personal hardihood and frank bearing of Charles the Bold; and Charles V. not only respected their claims to be governed by native magistrates, but gratified their pride by employing Flemings in the administration of his Spanish dominions. His first prime-minister, for whom he afterwards procured the papal chair, was his tutor Adrian of Utrecht, and his favourite privy-councillor was the youthful William of Orange. But from the moment of his accession Philip II. seemed bent on converting casual into permanent grievances, transient alarms into settled despair, and despotic exceptions into fixed maxims of government. His pride and gloom sur-

passed even Castilian gravity and arrogance: he stripped authority of all that ennobles or softens it even to its objects, and exhibited without veil or trapping the skeleton of despotism. No portion of his colossal empire escaped the blight of his systematic oppression. The provinces which remained to him of his Burgundian inheritance he permanently impoverished. He more deeply enervated his Neapolitan subjects; he inflicted dearth on Sicily by his corn-laws; and he poisoned by his priests and inquisitors the springs of civilization in the New World. Even the Castiles, which he favoured and sought to render the centre of his empire, were injured by his preference; and the church and faith of Rome, of which he believed himself the appointed guardian, suffered from his support, since the means he used to compel adhesion and conformity justified separation and dissent. His method of education rendered his eldest son a madman,—his second and successor, a fool; and the physical and moral decrepitude he entailed on his descendants and subjects led not remotely to the extinction of his house, and finally to the dismemberment of an empire, once, in the proud metaphor of the Persian, spanned only by the arc of the sun.

An historian of Holland necessarily represents Philip II. under the worst aspects of his character. In Dutch annals he is the antagonist of freedom, the evil genius of the present and the future, the baffled foe of a people which burst his chains and cast aside his cords from them. Yet at the impartial bar of history he must not be confounded with the Caligulas and Neros who outraged humanity, and who, in a private station, would have been classed and coerced with other lunatics. The disease of Philip's mind was of a subtler character: its ordinary symptoms are not uncommon in royal intellects, whose misfortune it is to be taught and to believe that men are born to be the tools of their pleasures and purposes. But in Philip these symptoms were exhibited in excess; they absorbed every other function of a narrow intellect and a melancholy temperament; and into the cancer of selfish idolatry and appropriation was poured the venom of religious bigotry. Could we however forget awhile his designs and their results, he is not without claims to respect as a sovereign. He devoted himself unremittingly to the business of government: his

days and even his nights were passed in his cabinet. Neither the gout which he inherited from his father, nor the strange maladies which at times afflicted him, nor the delights of Aranjuez, nor the privacy of the Escorial, caused him to relax. His bed-chamber was often the council-chamber of the empire: his answers to memorials, his instructions to his ministers and ambassadors are dated at all hours of the twenty-four: he read dispatches while driving out with his queen, and while on the way to meet the hounds. He was prematurely bent and gray-haired with official toil: he was equally acquainted with negotiations that affected Europe and with petitions that concerned the meanest of his subjects. No man could have written such a history of his own times as Philip II., for no one knew so well the secret springs of action or the personal history of the actors in them. He deemed it possible and fitting that men should be of one mind in religion, and he believed himself commissioned to enforce and restore uniformity. Wherever the Spaniards predominated, he saw the nearest approach to his theory of government in church and state, and accordingly he sought to rule his provinces as he ruled in Castile, by the vicegerency of Spaniards. In spite of the external deference he paid to the priesthood, he subjected the ecclesiastical as well as the civil powers to his own; for as rigid centralisation seemed to him the primal condition of government, he allowed of no centre but himself. He was at once the author, the slave and the victim of a system that neither admitted nor contemplated change. His bigotry was as fierce as that of Dominic, his dissimulation as deep as that of Tiberius. He made war and peace in the same sullen spirit: he displayed no joy at the victory of Lepanto, nor sorrow at the wreck of the Armada. He won Portugal and he lost the United Provinces with the same outward indifference. No man knew when his enmity began or his favour ceased; and it was a proverb at his court that it was not far from his smile to his dagger.

The portraiture of the great opponent of this dark intelligencing tyrant is thus drawn by Mrs. Davies:—

“William of Orange has been represented in such different lights by his panegyrists and enemies, that it is scarcely possible for posterity to arrive at a just conclusion. To the latter, his patriotism became personal ambition;

his reserve, duplicity ; his penetration, cunning ; his firmness in resisting persecution and oppression, obstinate heresy and rebellion ; and his affability, subserviency to popular favour. None, however, have denied him the praise of eminent talent, sagacity, diligence and perseverance. Entrusted from the early age of twenty-one by the emperor, Charles V., with the most important concerns, and placed in the chief command of the army, he added to his natural capacity for affairs the benefits of a long and active experience ; magnanimous in adversity and fertile in resources, he endured a long series of calamities with imperturbable cheerfulness and patience ; the freedom and magnificence of his hospitality were unbounded ; and though habitually silent, so as to acquire the surname of the ' Taciturn,' he was by no means averse to social mirth and conviviality, and was accustomed to mingle on familiar terms with all ranks of persons, observing to his friends, who remonstrated upon thus lessening his dignity, that ' a friend was cheaply bought by a bow.' The liberality of his views with respect to religious toleration, exposed him to the customary accusation of indifference on this subject ; a charge which, particularly in the latter part of his life, appears to be wholly unfounded. But among his many and great virtues, we cannot reckon either sincerity or pure patriotism. In the early part of the disturbances he acted the double part of first abetting the confederacy of the nobles, and then giving information of its existence to the government,—of accepting a command under the duchess of Parma, when he was at the same time aiding and encouraging the lord of Brederode in active hostilities against her. Amid all the subsequent troubles and disasters of the Netherlands, he never lost sight of his own aggrandisement. On the invitation of the archduke Matthias to assume the government of the Walloon provinces, he bent to circumstances so far as to profess attachment to him, only to throw him aside when a favourable opportunity offered itself ; and took advantage of the share he had had in procuring both his acknowledgement, and that of the duke of Anjou, to obtain the relinquishment of the valuable provinces of Holland, Zealand and Utrecht, although by so doing he excited jealousy in the breast of those princes, and prevented that close union with the other provinces which was so eminently desirable for the welfare of all ; and finally, he procured for himself the dignity of Count of Holland, which, while it added not in the smallest degree to the strength and consideration of the government, exasperated still further the bitter enmity of the king of Spain. His ambition, however, was pure from the slightest taint of cupidity ; he generously refused the gratifications offered him by the States of Holland, and applied without grudging the funds of his private purse to the public expenses.

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" Had the Dutch possessed a leader of greater promptitude and energy, they had perhaps been conducted more rapidly on the path to freedom and victory ; had they been under a ruler of less fortitude, wisdom, and magnanimity, it is possible they might have sunk under the unexampled difficulties by which they were surrounded. If William can have little right to be called the founder of the Dutch republic, he has justly received from the grateful people the title of ' Father of their Fatherland.' "

The characters of these great antagonists reflect the characters of their respective nations, and the history of the revolt of the Netherlands presents a parallel series of portraits unsurpassed in any contest of equal duration. Alva, Requesens, and Parma on the one side, Egmont, Louis of Nassau and Barneveldt on the other, are as definite opposites as the portraits of Velasquez and the portraits of Rubens. We think, however, that Mrs. Davies has hardly given William the Taciturn his due praise. It is undoubtedly true that the revolution did not originate in him, but in long trains of existing causes and in sudden accessions of discontent. The ferment once begun, however, he was more than any man and beyond every party of the time its informing and presiding genius, in whom the oppressed centered all their hopes, and from whom the Spanish government derived their chief apprehensions. When the cardinal Granvella heard that Alva had seized the principal of the Netherland nobles, he asked "whether they had caught the Taciturn," and being answered in the negative, he replied, "if *he* is not in the net, Alva has caught nothing." It cannot be inferred that because the provinces persevered in the contest after the assassination of William, and because they were not utterly dismayed and prostrated by his sudden removal, that his guidance at the first was not of vital moment to their success. Years of obstinate resistance had at the time of their leader's death trained the Dutch people to war, and awakened them to the real issues of the struggle. The rising generation had imbibed a warlike spirit unknown to their fathers, and were fast stepping into the front ranks of the battle. Like most of the families of the Teutonic race, the inhabitants of the Low Countries were slow to kindle and fuse; but, once heated, their indignation burnt long and fiercely, and they adhered to war with as much tenacity as they had originally clung to peace. William's greatness is then not to be measured by his skill or fortune as a general, or even by his dexterity and assiduity in administration; but by the patient fervour and the undefeated energy with which he confronted and sustained the first fury of the assault, and by the steady wisdom of his preparations for a future which few or none beside himself regarded as possible.

If the struggle indeed be measured by its circumstances and its consequences, it will be found inferior to none of the contests between despotism and freedom "in ancient or in modern books enrolled." It is not compressed into a few brief and brilliant actions, like the war of the Greeks with Persia. It stands not in clear prominence on the edge of the dark ages, like the quarrels of the Italian republics with the Frederics and Othos of Germany. It did not, like the French revolution, set open the gates to a general European war, nor, with the exception of the Stadtholder Maurice, did it produce any striking military genius. It is recorded, moreover, in only two languages,—one of which, the Latin, is no longer the idiom of treaties and literature, and the other, the native Dutch, is little more than a local dialect. Had Holland at any time possessed a Thucydides, he would have been nearly dumb to Europe; and hitherto her annals and charters have attracted no interpreter who to the universal language adds the genius and industry of Sismondi. Yet divested of these obstacles to renown, the United Provinces have all the essentials of instruction and interest in their history; and the historian who shall apprehend fully the capabilities of his subject may claim for it the characteristics which Tacitus assigns to the less momentous revolution which seated the Flavian family on the throne of the Roman world,—"*opus opimum casibus, atrox præliis, discors seditionibus, ipsa etiam pace sævum—principes ferro interempti—haustæ aut obrutæ urbes, pollutæ cœrimoniz, consumptis antiquissimis delubris*," etc. No Alps obstructed or delayed the invaders of the Netherlands,—an enemy might be in their heart from France in a week, from Spain in a month. The kings of the earth took counsel together against, or feebly befriended, a people that liked neither bishop nor king; and the provinces themselves were not originally independent states, but, with the exception of Friezland, appanages of the German empire or Burgundy; and thus, like the Asiatic Greeks, the Dutch and Flemings leaned towards extraneous power, and slowly formed the idea of federal independence. Nor did they to linen-robed and desultory Asiatics oppose a veteran and full-armed infantry of

* Tacitus, *Histor.* i. 2.

hardy peasants and mountaineers, or, like the Swiss, entangle and overwhelm cavalry in mountain-passes; but grave and gowned citizens were matched with the Spanish regiments of Alva and Parma, men of war from their youth and trained in the school of Bourbon and de Leyva. A long agony of fifty years, amid wasted fields and burning cities, finally secured for Holland its national independence; but to the sufferers themselves the contest was long divested of every recompensing of specious palliative.

Of a contest continued through fifty years with little relaxation, we can afford to notice only the immediate cause of the first outbreak, and one or two of the most characteristic features. Charles V., at the close of a life passed in vain attempts to render the subjects of his colossal empire of one mind in matters of religion, acknowledged the futility of the attempt and the fallacy of his hopes. But Charles, although intolerant, was not blindly bigoted, and never pushed coercion to the extremity of danger to himself or of despair in his subjects. The more limited intellect of Philip II. overlooked the barriers which his father had marked for him. He saw uniformity of belief in Spain established by the sword, the church and the inquisition: he imagined these remedies for heresy of universal application, and the first objects of his administration in Flanders were to maintain a standing army of foreigners, to augment the powers of the church, and to introduce the relentless and insatiable tribunal that guarded so well the orthodoxy of Castile. Every one of these projects was directly hostile to the personal and national feelings of his northern provinces. The Zealanders threatened to destroy their country by piercing the sea-dykes rather than admit the presence of a standing army: the Netherland nobles, both lay and ecclesiastical, united in opposing church extension; and the prevalence of the reformed doctrines in religion presented an insurmountable barrier to the Inquisition. But though his projects failed, their effects remained.

Alarm and indignation pervaded the Netherlands. The fury of the iconoclasts was at first favourable to the government, because it enlisted for a moment on its side the fears and sympathies of the upper and educated classes. But Philip marred his chance of effecting imperceptibly what he could not achieve

by violence ; and by his appointment of the Duke of Alva to the viceroyalty of the Netherlands the scabbard was at once and for ever thrown aside. After the failure of Alva, Philip's policy, although as relentless as ever in its ends, became vacillating in its means and instruments. When nothing was gained by cruelty he tried milder courses, and appointed Requesens Alva's successor, for the express reason that he was a moderate man. After Requesens he sent Don John of Austria into the Netherlands, because the people regarded him in some measure as their countryman, with definite orders to conclude a peace. But it was Philip's constant fortune to miss his opportunity, and to employ force or fraud or conciliation after the season of their effectiveness was passed. He played, too, his losing game with lynx-eyed adversaries. The patient firmness of William of Orange was succeeded by the astute policy of Olden Barneveldt. William had rendered his countrymen capable of following the guidance of his successor : Barneveldt carried them forward from the rudiments to the manhood of their political life ; he was the representative, as he was the greatest, of the second generation of the worthies of Holland : the third age produced and expired with John de Witt.

The war of the revolution presents the usual features of a war of posts modified by the local circumstances of the country. The reader will find it minutely detailed by Mrs. Davies, and the work of Janssens contains many interesting anecdotes of both invaders and defenders which the native sources of the Abbè have enabled him to supply. We shall however briefly advert to two singular phænomena of the contest, the confederacy of the Gueux, and the steady increase of the wealth of Holland throughout the revolt. Towards the end of the year 1565, Margaret, duchess of Parma, the Governess of the Netherlands, received a stringent command from Philip to publish throughout her jurisdiction, and to enforce to the letter, the decrees of the Council of Trent. She was enjoined, at the same time, to support the Inquisition with the whole authority of the government, and to renew the execution of the penal edicts up to that time promulgated. The order was accompanied by a declaration from Philip that he never meant to permit any other modification of the punishment of death

for heresy than that, to avoid tumult, the execution should be secret instead of public.

Even in Catholic Europe the reception of the decrees of the Council of Trent was extremely partial. In France, in the Venetian territory, and in Southern Germany they remained almost a dead letter; Italy acquiesced, Spain alone really submitted. But in Protestant Europe the proceedings of the Council were regarded as a new manifestation of Antichrist, and provinces on the eve of revolt were not likely to regard them in any other light. No sooner was Philip's edict published in the Netherlands than the ferment became violent and universal. Inflammatory and seditious pamphlets and placards were scattered abroad and posted up on the walls of the towns, exhorting the people to defend themselves bravely against the Inquisition and the tyranny which the Spaniards would force upon them. All the vigilance of the government was insufficient to discover the authors and instruments of these appeals to the people.

On the morning of the 5th of April, 1566, the Governess had hastily summoned to the council of state the knights of the Golden Fleece, and such of the Stadtholders as were not already at the viceregal court, to debate upon the best method of allaying or suppressing the popular ferment. Their deliberations were superfluous, for the streets of Brussels on that morning displayed the extent and character of the crisis. In slow procession, ranked four abreast, were passing under the windows and through the gates of the state-house the nobles of seventeen provinces, headed by the lord of Brederode and count Louis of Nassau. These were the members of a bond of alliance formed shortly before, and entitled the "Compromise." At first eleven names only had been subscribed, but afterwards this solemn league and covenant embraced nearly all the territorial and commercial aristocracy of Flanders and the seven northern provinces. The subscribers bound themselves by oath to "resist to the utmost of their power" the establishment of the Inquisition, under what name or "pretext soever; to support and assist each other as faithful friends and brothers; and if any one of them were disquieted or molested on account of this alliance, to devote their lives

“and properties to his defence.” Their purpose in this procession and its sequel we extract from Mrs. Davies:—

“On their appearance before the Governess, Brederode delivered an address, disowning and deprecating the insinuations of their enemies, that they designed to pave the way for sedition and revolt, and that they held secret communication with the commanders of the reformed troops in France and Germany, and professing their zeal for the service of the King: after which he presented a petition, praying that she would send a fit and capable person to Spain, to represent to the King the misery and ruin which threatened his Netherland dominions, and likewise that she would cause the Inquisition and edicts to be suspended till an answer should arrive from the King. * * * * * To avoid assembling a crowd or exciting tumults, the confederates had, on this occasion, gone to court on foot, plainly dressed, and unarmed, which led the Count of Barlaimont to remark to the Governess, on their approach, that ‘she had no cause of fear, since they were only a troop of beggars’ (Gueux). The taunt was but too truly applied; many of the most illustrious families had, since the reign of Philip the Good, squandered their incomes on a luxurious and expensive court.

* * * * * At a feast given the same evening by the lord of Brederode, in the house of Culemborg, where nearly three hundred guests were present, the expression being repeated, was eagerly caught up and handed from mouth to mouth: ‘It was no shame,’ they said, ‘to be beggars for their country’s good.’—‘Live the Gueux!’ resounded from all sides of the apartment. Brederode appearing shortly after, with a wooden vessel such as pilgrims and mendicant monks were wont to carry, pledged the whole company to the health of the ‘Gueux’: the cup went round; Orange, Egmond, and the Count of Horn (hitherto not among the *Compromissis*), whom the noise of the banquet had attracted thither, were forced by a gentle coercion to join in the pledge, and mirth and wine crowned the birth of that name, which was ere long to be the watchword of strife and bloodshed. Sober reflection confirmed what levity had suggested; the value of a party-name and a party-badge was acknowledged: the appellation of ‘Gueux’ was adopted alike by those of the reformed religion, and such as were hostile to the government; they dressed themselves and their families in the beggars’ costume of grey cloth, with a small wooden porringer or cup fastened to their caps, and wore about their necks medals of gold or silver, whereon was engraved on the one side the image of the king, on the other a beggar’s wallet and two hands joined, with the motto ‘*Fidèles au roy, jusqu’à la besace*,’—faithful to the king, even to the wallet.”

The English revolution of 1688 has been termed “a silk-stocking revolution” in comparison with the rough work and difficult struggle of the Long Parliament and of the Reformation. And this solemn muster and earnest revelry of the Gueux proved a silk-stocking ceremony in comparison with the “wild Gueux” who two years afterwards sought refuge in

the woods of West Flanders, and renewed in various portions of the provinces the horrors of the old *Jacquerie* tumults. The tyranny of Alva, driving hundreds of respectable burghers from the towns, and the atrocities committed on the peasantry by the Spanish soldiers, furnished the insurgent provinces with allies who served their cause more effectually than regular armies, and whom despair and the habit of seeing and inflicting death in every form rendered indifferent to life and therefore masters of the lives of others. At first they exercised their vengeance principally on the priests and monks, whom they identified with the persecuting government and murdered with cruel tortures. But their operations presently assumed a more regular and useful form. The rivers and canals, the bays and inland seas, swarmed with their flat-bottomed vessels. They cut off the supplies, the communication and the foragers of the Spaniards: they blew up their boats rather than surrender; they made no prisoners, they hearkened to no terms: they were the water-cossacs of the revolution-war. The capture of Briel, the turning-point of the fortunes of Holland, was their work: they were the captors of Flushing and Middleburgh; and their desperate valour and reckless cruelty at length so paralysed the Spanish soldiers, that the cry of the "Gueux", either on the waters or the land, would scatter Parma's best regiments and throw into ruinous disorder his strongest flotillas and his stoutest galleys.

The evils of a protracted and exterminating war were aggravated by frequent mutinies of the Spanish soldiers. Whole regiments, and even entire brigades, clamorous for pay and provisions, would desert their colours, and after plundering the towns in which they were stationed, spread themselves over the impoverished and wasted country and live at free quarters, until hunger or an instalment of their arrears compelled or tempted them to return. The "Spanish Fury" at Antwerp is one only among many instances of the impotence of the commanders and the disorganisation of the troops. The operations of Requesens, of Parma, and even of Alva himself, were checked and thwarted at the most critical moments by the desertion of their soldiers. It is remarkable, however, that a mutinous spirit rarely displayed itself in the armies of Holland, although they by no means consisted of native

troops alone, and that when sedition broke out among them it was speedily appeased by promises of payment. The Spanish army, with its numerous auxiliaries, Italian, German and Walloon, was in the pay of nominally the richest sovereign in Europe, and was long in possession of the great staples of Flemish trade, Antwerp, Ghent and Brussels, whose defenceless burghers were exposed to continual contributions and to constant panics at such seasons of insubordination. Yet the Spaniards were ill paid, their clothing and magazines were irregularly furnished, and the war was frequently made to support itself from the already exhausted provinces. Holland and Zeeland, on the other hand, although their trade and manufactures had decayed, although many of their richest families were in exile, and the best of their lands laid under water by the cutting of the dykes, possessed more resources to pay and provide their troops than a monarch into whose exchequer the imposts of a third of Europe and the wealth of Peru and Mexico were flowing. This phenomenon, however singular, is easy of explanation. The Dutch were at all times masters of the sea: their carriage trade did not partake of the general depreciation; they had no superfluous population; and even in the fiercest moments of the contest they were the purveyors of the Spanish camps and garrisons. But this alone will not account for the fact, that at the close of the war the United Provinces proved to have been steadily and even rapidly increasing in wealth. The cause of this seeming anomaly is written in one of the fairest pages of their annals. In their unsullied national probity, in their unimpeachable public credit*, they possessed an unsuspected but inexhaustible mine of treasure. During the long sieges of Leyden, Haarlem and Antwerp, when specie failed, the municipal government or the States issued promissory notes or coined tin money; and this circulating medium, although of no intrinsic value, was received in payment by the foreign as well as the native troops without scruple or distrust that, as soon

* This honourable feature in their character did not escape that *preux chevalier*, Sir Dugald Dalgetty. "O! my lord," said he with a sort of enthusiasm, "their behaviour on pay-day might be a pattern to all Europe,—no borrowings, no lendings, no offsets, no arrears,—all balanced and paid like a banker's book."—*Legend of Montrose*, chap. ii.

as circumstances allowed, it would be faithfully and promptly redeemed with sterling coin or its equivalent. This perfect integrity, Mrs. Davies remarks, this unbounded confidence between man and man, enabled Holland to protract the war until the resources of her adversary were completely exhausted. Towards the end of the contest, when trade in Holland and her associated provinces had revived, and even new channels were opened to her enterprize, her wealth excited the wonder and envy of all foreigners. Amsterdam took the place of Antwerp, and what Antwerp had been before the war we learn from the Venetian envoy, Marino Cavallo. "I grew melancholy," he says, "when I beheld Antwerp, for I saw Venice outdone." The corn trade of Holland attracted especial notice: beside their imports and exports of grain, their stationary magazines exceeded those of any other state in Europe. In the year 1610, Contarini, the Venetian envoy, saw in the Dutch granaries 100,000 sacks of good wheat and as many of other grain, and the trade increased prodigiously in the latter part of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth centuries. In his '*Observations touching Trade and Commerce with the Hollander*,' Sir Walter Raleigh asserts "that they were always provided with 700,000 quarters of corn, "so that they could supply their neighbours, with considerable "profit to themselves, in case of scarcity;" and he adds, "one "year of bad harvest was worth to the Hollander seven good "years." Our "farmers' friends" will earn with surprize that this plenty and profit were not the result of protection. Though frequently solicited, the Dutch government steadily refused to restrict or interfere with exportation, and the merchant might sell in any market at any price he thought fit, without the dread of scarcity, or being tormented by fluctuation of prices, or puzzled by a sliding scale. In their spice trade, indeed, the Dutch acted like a nation of dukes of Buckingham; but the freedom of their traffic in corn merits the highest praise, and was attended with the happiest effects.

The condition of the Spanish revenues at this time, though seemingly foreign, is really connected intimately with the history of Holland. In fact momentous economical principles were involved and developed in its contest with Spain. Spain and Holland in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were the

economical antipodes of each other. The foreign dominions, the colonial possessions of the Spanish crown, were the largest in the world,—the largest indeed ever held by any one state, if we except our own Indian empire. Holland on the other hand was nearly destitute of colonies, possessed a narrow and insecure territory, without mines, little adapted to agriculture, and dependent until the Peace of Münster on a foreign government. Yet the poverty of Spain became yearly more apparent, the opulence of Holland yearly steadier and more conspicuous. The poverty of the Spanish exchequer was already manifest in the reign of Charles V.: he was preserved from actual bankruptcy more by the aid which he derived from the Netherlands than by the produce of his American mines. His revenues from the latter, indeed, have always been greatly overstated, and their presumed balance has been allowed by historians to obscure the true sources of his wealth,—the Moriscoe population of Spain and the imposts derived from his seventeen provinces in Northern Europe. Holland, neither the most extensive nor the most tractable of these provinces, paid almost, every year, two contributions, each amounting to between four hundred and five hundred thousand carls-gulden. The Netherlands in a similar period often paid nearly two millions and a half of ducats. “*Questi*,” says the envoy Soriano, in a sort of politico-economical rapture, “*sono li tesori de’ Rè di Spagna, queste le minere, questi l’Indie.*” At the time of Philip’s accession the continual wars of his predecessor had involved him so deeply in debt, that the crown-lands of the Netherlands,—the patrimony of their ancient counts and dukes, —were for the most part alienated. By estranging these provinces, therefore, and by burdening himself with the expenses of a protracted war, Philip was not merely adding to the debts which he had inherited from his father, but cutting off at the same time the only sources of extrication. The war of the revolution was as blind and ruinous an act as that other deed of wilful bigotry, the expulsion of the Moriscoes from Spain. But the impolicy of exiling the whole industrial population of a kingdom, being more obvious, has accordingly been more blamed than the parallel impolicy of desolating and alienating the most industrious provinces of his empire. Spain, in fact, was so utterly unproductive in itself, that no inconsiderable

branch of the trade of Holland and Zealand consisted in supplying Philip's southern dominions with common articles of food and clothing, independently of the rich returns they annually made by exporting to the same quarter many of the costlier luxuries of life. In the history of a commercial people these, as it seems to us, are the important points; the details of war, notwithstanding the moral origin and features of the struggle, are of secondary rank.

The death of William the Taciturn closed the first period of the war. He was the last survivor of the great popular leaders whom the bigotry of Philip had forced into a position which they at first unconsciously, and long reluctantly, occupied. With their successors, the Stadtholder Maurice and the statesman Barneveldt, a new æra begins. The Dutch people had begun to feel their strength, perhaps to be dimly conscious of the great destiny that awaited them, certainly to contemplate the struggle with clearer insights and stronger assurance. But in proportion as their political horizon grows brighter, the peculiar features of the contest in which they were engaged become less striking, and we shall therefore dwell less minutely on events which may be competently gathered from the volumes before us. William of Orange was both the military and political representative of Holland so long as he lived. But his successors divided these functions, and henceforward the civil and military powers were severed and generally at variance with each other. The military genius of Maurice contributed to bring the war to an end: the policy of Barneveldt imparted to the domestic and foreign relations of Holland the peculiar form and character which, with some deviations, they retained until the extinction of the republic. Dutch history therefore for some time to come is little more than a biography of the two civil and military chiefs of the Union.

The education of Barneveldt was remarkably, though in some measure accidentally, apposite to his public life. Bred a lawyer, the troubles between the French court and the Huguenots drove him from Bourges, then celebrated as a legal school, to Heidelberg, where a furious controversy was raging on the questions of predestination and free-will. The ardent temper of Barneveldt led him into the thickest of the theological fray;

but, though he entered it a keen disputant, he came out of it a philosopher. On the controverted question itself he came to this wise conclusion, that, as it could not be determined by reason, it was not essential to faith, and thus he was a *Pre-Arminian*, while as yet Arminius and Vorstius, theologically, were not. On the approach of Alva from the Netherlands a great panic seized the Dutch lawyers at the Hague, where Barneveldt was then in practice. The majority of the bar maintained the propriety of submitting to the king of Spain: Barneveldt and two others only adhered to the cause of independence and the Prince of Orange. The servile or loyal advocates withdrew to Utrecht; the liberal triumvirate awaited the brunt of Alva's assault.

From this moment Barneveldt became a politician and a warrior. The commissariat was his usual department, but not his only one. Like Lear's Caius, he was a good fellow and would strike, and was present at various sieges and took part in sundry expeditions, with much credit to his valour and more to his wise counsel. Meanwhile his business as a lawyer multiplied; the chief nobles were his clients,—among them the widow of the popular and ill-fated Count Egmont. He had some public office in 1576, and was shortly afterwards chosen Pensionary of Rotterdam. From the date of this appointment the life of Barneveldt becomes a portion of the history of Holland: he proposed the articles of the famous union of Utrecht in 1579; he negotiated with Anjou at Antwerp in 1583, and he was entrusted to draw up the conditions of sovereignty between William of Orange and Holland, when the assassination of the Prince at Delft rendered his labours vain. The treachery and folly of Anjou had strongly indisposed Barneveldt against intrusting the reins of government to any foreign prince; and his reluctance was subsequently confirmed by the arbitrary and unfortunate administration of the earl of Leicester. Of the English Governor-general he was throughout the uncompromising opponent. Leicester's incapacity confirmed, if it did not create, Barneveldt's dislike to England, and disposed him, like his successor De Witt, to regard France on all occasions as the trustier and more efficient ally. Barneveldt was one of the first to discern the real strength of Holland and the actual weakness of Spain. He

made it therefore a condition of his accepting the office of Pensionary of Holland that he should never be required to propose or arrange any reconciliation with that country.

He did not however ultimately adhere to his own stipulation. The ancient enemy had been effectually humbled: Holland had become in turn the assailant, when a new danger arose to her civil liberty from her military success. The army was becoming attached to Prince Maurice personally, and a continuance of the war might render him as Captain-general too powerful for the States. Without being inconsistent, Barneveldt changed his policy and became an equally strenuous advocate of accommodation. From this period dates the personal hostility of Prince Maurice, so fatal to Barneveldt in the sequel.

But his ultimate fall proceeded from the controversy which had occupied his early studies at Heidelberg. To the *odium politicum* of the civil and military factions of Holland was added the *odium theologicum* of warring divines. Throughout the controversy, which agitated the United Provinces as much as the Spanish war and with far more pernicious results, Barneveldt preserved a dignified and august moderation. He may have erred in recommending the States to issue their writ for levying the "Waardgelders" or national guard of the several municipalities; but it was at worst an error of judgement, that stretched no point of law nor inflicted any wound on the constitution, although the crisis, both as regarded Barneveldt himself and the province he represented, might have justified extraordinary measures. Compared indeed with the illegal, arbitrary and violent proceedings of Maurice himself, the levy of the "Waardgelders" was an indifferent act, blameable chiefly because it was useless; it was in fact calling out an army of ancient watchmen to repel an invasion. Both the evil and the remedy however were deeply seated in the constitution of Holland itself, and before we notice the closing scene of Barneveldt's life, we must briefly trace the beginning and the first stages of the decline of the Dutch nation.

The truce with Spain was scarcely concluded, when evils developed themselves to which all federations, where the executive is necessarily weak, are exposed. The United Provinces, strong in their respective local governments, needed a central

power for the adjustment of their foreign relations, and the control of their federal and ecclesiastical elements. The church and the army, in monarchies usually absorbed or at least balanced by the crown, were hostile forces to these republics. The municipalities sufficed only for the administration of justice and the collection of the revenue; yet, without some authority over the military and spiritual powers, either the Union must be dissolved, or the States submit to a supremacy of the church or the sword little less inconsistent with local freedom than that which they had so recently abjured. The influence of Holland rendered its Stadtholder the most important and dangerous member of the Union. As chief of the army his interest and his voice were still for war, and war was as disadvantageous to the States as it had ever been to Venice or Carthage. Nor was the danger lessened by the character of Maurice, the existing Stadtholder. Born and reared in war, on him had devolved the duty of avenging the murder of William the Taciturn, and of completing the deliverance of his country. He had nobly discharged this duty, but, in performing it, he had acquired martial prejudices and habits of command that ill assorted with limited authority or the preservation of peace. The House of Orange was thus inevitably thrown into opposition with the States. To blend in one the civil and military representatives of the Union was virtually to establish monarchy,—to keep them apart, yielded the evil seeds and worse fruits of division.

But the danger was more deeply seated. The established religion of the Union was Calvinism; and the Calvinistic church, like the Papal, has ever been least tolerant of dissidence, and most eager to usurp the temporal as well as the spiritual functions of government. The creed of Calvin, or rather of Augustin, is of too severe and inflexible a character for many who reason and for most who feel among its professors; and no church, as its stronghold Geneva has shown, is readier to glide into scepticism, or at least to adopt milder forms of protestant belief. In the seventeenth century, when the tumult of war had rolled away from the United Provinces, its church was found to be deeply infected with doctrines which were denounced as Pelagian by their opponents. Without treading in the mud of controversy, we may securely affirm that the

Calvinistic section of the Dutch church contained at this time no leaders of equal genius or learning to James Arminius or Hugo Grotius. But religious quarrels are seldom determined by the weight of mere reason or erudition. Passion and party incline the scale and embitter the struggle, and the mob of believers are more capable of understanding what is addressed to their prejudices than what is submitted to their judgment. It was easier therefore for Gomarus, the leader of the Calvinists, to organise a faction, than for its opponents, the Remonstrants, to obtain a fair hearing. The States had adopted predestination in their creeds and catechisms, and the secular arm might therefore speciously be invited to vindicate orthodoxy and to silence dissent. But in Holland the head of the civil government, the venerable Olden Barneveldt, inclined to the Arminians, or was at least unwilling to sanction a Calvinistic Papacy in provinces which had so lately rejected the Pope. Barneveldt was also at the head of the party in opposition to the House of Orange: he had offended Maurice by virtually terminating at Münster the war with Spain, and, with the war, Maurice's native and favourite sphere of action; and the Stadtholder accordingly lent readily his power and influence to the Anti-Remonstrant or Calvinist party. On the one side were ranged the majority of the clergy, the army, and the populace; on the other, the majority of the municipal authorities and the ablest statesmen and theologians. The elevation of Arminius to the chair of Theology at Leyden was the beginning of the crisis which terminated in the Synod of Dort, in decrees as arbitrary as Granvellas, in violation of personal and provincial rights as gross as any that Alva had enforced or Philip directed. The Synod of Dort was as fatal to the Union as the Council of Trent to the Papacy. The Netherlands, under the more indulgent sway of Albert and Isabella, saw the tide of emigration turn to them from Holland; the Romish church regained some members whom Protestant intolerance estranged; and the hospitable towns and countries of England were peopled with skilful artisans and enterprising merchants, driven from their soil by the tyranny of Maurice and the bigotry of Gomarus. So soon did Holland turn against its own bosom the weapons it had wrested from Philip: so soon did it tread in the footsteps of its oppressors

and in the very consummation of its freedom afford a triumph to its ancient enemy,—

“Hoc Ithacus velit et magno mercentur Atreidæ.”

The proceedings of the council of Trent have been recorded by two opposite and nearly equal writers, the Venetian Father Paul and the Roman Pallavicini, and from their conflicting prejudices and statements a living German historian has composed a clear and impartial account of the last great Synod of the Papal church. The Synod of Dort yet awaits its historian; but its materials are nearly as copious, and its results, as respects theological opinions, as momentous as those of its predecessor. The work of Sebastian Brandt, however, for its fullness and tendency may be compared to that of Father Paul, although much its inferior in eloquence and arrangement. Brandt exhibits the Arminian side of the controversy, but his plenteous incorporation of original documents enables the reader to hold the balance evenly between the Arminian and Calvinist disputants. The soundness of their respective tenets is beyond our province, but the judicial management of the proceedings is not affected by the orthodoxy of either party; and it is plain that a jury of unbiassed men would not have permitted the directors or the assistants to conduct the inquiry as they conducted it, or have affirmed the verdict which they dictated. Gomarus was on all points triumphant: the Arminians were exposed to insult within the precincts, to violence without the walls of the Synod. The block was yet reeking with the blood of Barneveldt, Grotius was an exile, Hoogerbets a prisoner, Ledenburg had sought refuge from his theological enemies in suicide, Episcopius who sustained the Arminian cause in the Synod was rudely encountered and arbitrarily silenced; and at the close of the proceedings all the leaders and even the majority of the members of the Arminian party were driven into exile or fined and imprisoned.

We have anticipated the order of time, the better to connect the causes and sequence of these events. The execution of Barneveldt was an ovation that preceded the Calvinistic triumph in the Synod of Dort. His arrest, trial and death are less known, but deserve to be equally memorable with the

imprisonment and escape of Grotius. We can only present our readers with an abridgement of Mrs. Davies' narrative :—

“Early on the morning of his arrest, Uytembogaart, going into his cabinet, found him, instead of being occupied as usual in writing or giving directions, seated with his back towards the table in an attitude of deep dejection. He endeavoured to console him by recalling to his mind the example of many eminent men of all ages, who having done the greatest services to their country had met with no other reward than ingratitude. At the conclusion of this interview, he pressed the hand of his aged friend, with a presentiment of evil for which he was unable to account. It was for the last time. Within an hour after his departure, Barneveldt proceeded to the Assembly of the States of Holland, when, as he was about to enter, a messenger informed him that the Prince desired to speak with him. He accordingly went into the chamber where they were accustomed to hold their conferences, and was immediately arrested by Nythof, lieutenant of the Prince's body-guard, in the name of the States-General.

* * * * *

“Barneveldt, now past seventy years of age, was closely confined (for more than ten months) in the room which had served as a prison for the Spanish commander, Mendoza, after the battle of Nieuport; and, besides being subjected to every petty indignity that malice could invent, was debarred the sight of his wife and children, and deprived of the use of pen, ink, and paper.”

The art of constructing special juries was not unknown even in Holland. The commission of inquiry, which the Orange faction substituted for the ordinary court of justice, was composed of deputies and lawyers conspicuous for their implacable hostility to Barneveldt.

“He was subjected,” Mrs. Davies proceeds, “to twenty-three examinations, during which he was neither allowed to take down the questions in writing, to make memoranda of his answers, or to refer to notes: the interrogatories were not confined to any definite period, but extended over his whole public life, no effort being spared to involve him in those contradictions which, from decay of memory or confusion of dates, might easily occur.”

To make Barneveldt's condemnation sure, twenty-four judges appointed by the States-General, who had no jurisdiction in the province of Holland, pronounced on the report drawn up by the commission of inquiry. We must refer to Mrs. Davies for the capital charges against the accused, and hasten to the catastrophe.

“On the evening of Sunday the 12th of May (1619), Peter van Leeuwen and Lawrence Sylla, two of the judges, entered the prison of

Barneveldt, for the purpose of summoning him the next morning to receive sentence of death. 'Sentence of death!' exclaimed the aged patriot; 'sentence of death! I did not expect that.' He then asked permission to write a farewell letter to his wife. While Leeuwen was gone to make his request known to the States, he said to the attorney-general of Guelderland, 'Sylla, Sylla, could your father but see that you have allowed yourself to be employed in this business!'—the only expression of anger or impatience which the heroic old man permitted to escape him during the whole of this trying period.

"The materials being brought him, he began to write with the utmost composure, when Sylla observed to him to be careful what he said, lest it might prevent the delivery of the letter. 'What, Sylla!' he answered, half-smiling, 'are you come to dictate to me what I shall write in my last hour?' While thus employed, Anthony Waleus and two other ministers came to prepare him for death; to whom he observed that he had lived to a great age, and had long ago prepared himself to die. When he had finished, however, he entered freely into conversation with them, and detained them to supper, at which Barneveldt ate with his usual appetite, discoursing on the proceedings of the Synod and various other subjects.

* * * * * He constantly refused to acknowledge himself in the slightest degree guilty of any of the accusations brought against him, except in so far as that, sometimes, provoked at the insults and libels directed against the States of Holland, his masters, he had expressed himself with too much haste and acrimony. 'I governed,' said he, 'when I was in authority, according to the maxims of that time, and now I am condemned to die according to the maxims of this.' The discourse afterwards turned on the subject of predestination, when some discussions arising, Barneveldt used such powerful arguments in defence of his opinions, and evinced so deep a knowledge of the subject, that the ministers remained silent with astonishment. They concluded their visit with a prayer, when Barneveldt lay down to rest; but, being unable to sleep, one of them, Hugh Beyerus, returned, and at his own request read to him the prayers for the sick. When they were ended, he asked where the place was prepared for him to be executed, and whether Grotius and Hoogerbets were to suffer the same fate, observing that it would grieve him deeply. 'They,' said he, 'are young, and may yet do great service to their country; as for me, I am an old and worn-out man.' The remainder of the night he passed in reading a French book of Psalms. Early in the morning, the ministers repairing to his bed-side, asked him if he was prepared to die. He answered that he was well resolved, but could not understand for what he was to suffer. 'Would,' he added, 'that by my blood all disunion and strife might cease in the land!' Waleus then gave the morning prayer, during which time Barneveldt remained in an attitude of deep devotion, though he uttered no sound. At the conclusion, one of the ministers, John Lamotius, observed, with somewhat of importunate zeal, 'Will not my lord say Amen?' The prisoner continued silent, as though he heard him not. On the question being repeated,—'Yes, Lamotius,' he answered gently, 'Amen.' He then inquired if any one had a prayer ready for the scaffold; when

Waleus answering in the affirmative, he seemed satisfied, and listened attentively to some chapters from Isaiah.

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"Before he left his prison, Barneveldt wrote his last letter to his family, recommending his servant, John Franken, who had attended him throughout with affectionate fidelity, to their care. He was shortly after led into a lower room of the court-house to hear his sentence. During the reading he turned round quickly several times, and rose from his seat, as if about to speak. When it was concluded, he observed, that there were many things in it which were not in the examinations; and added, 'I thought the States-General would have been satisfied with my blood, and allowed my wife and children to keep what is their own.' 'Your sentence is read,' replied Leonard Vooght, one of the judges; 'away, away!' Leaning on his staff, and with his servant on the other side to support his steps grown feeble with age, Barneveldt walked composedly to the place of execution, prepared before the great saloon of the court-house. Here he was compelled to suffer the last petty indignity that man could heap upon him. Aged and infirm as he was, neither stool nor cushion had been provided to mitigate the sense of bodily weakness as he performed the last duties of mortal life; and kneeling down on the bare boards, he was supported by his servant, while the minister, John Lamotius, delivered a prayer. When prepared for the block, he turned to the spectators and said, with a loud and firm voice, 'My friends, believe not that I am a traitor. I have lived a good patriot, and such I die.' He then, with his own hands, drew his cap over his eyes, and bidding the executioner 'be quick,' bowed his venerable head to the stroke."

That he "governed by the maxims of his own time, and was condemned by those of another," was a sentence more pregnant with meaning than Barneveldt himself could be aware. The third period of the republican history of Holland, which commenced with the ascendancy of the Calvinistic party in the church and of the House of Orange in the state, differed essentially from the period which preceded it. Barneveldt was simply a Hollander and a republican. He aspired to render his country the Venice of the North, and to place its internal freedom on what he conceived its securest basis—a civil aristocracy. That Holland should take any other than a merely defensive position among the states of Europe he neither wished nor expected: European dignity could be acquired and sustained only by a military force wholly disproportioned to her territory and her commercial interests. The head of the army would always be a dangerous rival to the civil power, and, so long as there remained a representative of the House of Orange, military command would

be seconded by territorial and personal influence. De Witt, inheriting the principles of Barneveldt in his preference of the French to the English alliance, of the navy to the army, and in his jealousy of the family of Orange, was more inclined to take part in European politics, or was perhaps constrained by the inherent weakness of a commercial aristocracy to seek support from one or other of his monarchical neighbours. He was accordingly more of a diplomatist than any former Dutch statesman, and the period which he represented was more cosmopolite than the æra which preceded it.

But it would far exceed our limits to enter upon the third period of Dutch history, and there is less occasion, since many of its characteristics have been treated of in a recent number of this Review*. We have sought rather to suggest the true nature of a history of Holland, and to point out certain deficiencies in the volumes before us, than to comprise in a few pages the matter of a volume. With these remarks then we take leave of Mrs. Davies' very useful work, which, in spite of some serious defects, is highly creditable to her industry and impartiality.

ARTICLE VII.

1. *Les Mystères de Paris*. Par EUGÈNE SUE. 10 vols. Paris, 1841.
2. *Le Juif Errant*. Par EUGÈNE SUE. 2 vols. Bruxelles, 1844.

THE English are unquestionably a moral nation,—foreigners say a prudish nation. We have this indeed in common with prudes, that we are more rigid than discerning. We have a strong moral feeling, or perhaps it would be more correct to say, a strong feeling against any proclaimed immorality; but we have not a keen moral sense. We hate better than we criticise: we are good haters, but must be told what to hate, because we are opinion-ridden. Like our type the bull-dog,

* No. XXXII. 'Secret Diplomacy of Louis XIV.'

we fly at anything and everything that we are set at, and our onset is terrible ; but we are not spontaneously aggressive. Mr. Macaulay, in one of his sparkling essays, alluding to the public outcry made against Kean and Byron, attributes a "periodical fit of morality" to the English. "Once in seven years our virtue becomes outrageous. We cannot suffer the laws of religion and decency to be violated : we must make a stand against vice : we must teach libertines that the English people appreciate the importance of domestic ties. Accordingly some unfortunate man, in no respect more depraved than hundreds whose offences have been treated with lenity, is singled out as an expiatory sacrifice : he is in truth a sort of whipping-boy, by whose vicarious agonies all the other transgressors of the same class are, it is supposed, sufficiently chastised. We reflect very complacently on our own severity, and compare with great pride the high standard of morals established in England with the Parisian laxity. And our virtue goes quietly to sleep for seven years." This satire is cutting ; but the reason of the inconsistency is not, we believe, that our morality has periodical bursts of indignation, but that it is never indignant unless *told* to be so. Vice, by losing half its scandal, loses all its grossness : quiet profligacy is reprehensible, but not reprehended ; open profligacy is shuddered at and cursed, because it is a defiance of public morality, and throws down the gauntlet to that avenging power, Opinion.

As with the morals of individuals, so with the morals of books. Richardson, Fielding and Smollett are read by those who execrate 'Don Juan.' Rabelais is the boast of those who write against Paul de Kock. 'Candide' was once a popular and unsuspected work, amongst us. Young men are taught to read Aristophanes and Catullus, who would incur the lasting displeasure of their parents and guardians if they ventured on Pigault le Brun. The reason is obvious : some books are *tabooed*, others pass unnoticed. The principle guiding the selection is mostly ludicrously arbitrary, and reminds one of Shelley's story of the Italian police, who, finding amongst his books a Latin Spinoza and an English Bible, allowed the Spinoza to pass but confiscated the Bible.

We are led to these reflections by the extraordinary recep-

tion given to Eugène Sue's notorious novels. No work ever excited so wide-spread, so sudden a popularity as '*Les Mystères de Paris.*' Not only in France and Germany, but also in England, moral England, has this work been received with applause. Five translations are at this moment tempting English readers,—translations of all kinds and at all prices; from one published in Holywell-street, to another expensive and profusely illustrated edition displayed by Chapman and Hall, and finally, as a consecration of popularity, to the circulating-library three-volume edition. Ten editions have been already printed at Paris,—as many at Brussels. The Germans are not backward with versions and imitations.

This excessive popularity forces our attention to the work. For a long while we have contented ourselves with silent contempt; it is now time for reproof. As long as it was delighting and demoralizing the readers of the '*Journal des Débats*' we were silent. It has now found its way into thousands of English houses,—thanks to its amazing popularity, thanks also to its almost unparalleled immorality. No one has denounced it as a bad and execrable book; the consequence has been that no one has thought it bad. Its licentiousness, its hideous pictures of civilized depravity, its bold attacks upon existing society, and its outrage of existing laws, have all been relished; the feverish excitement which the book produces on most readers has been openly indulged and openly proclaimed.

The power of the press is immense; it must crush whatever it unanimously opposes. When Mr. Ainsworth insulted our tastes and understandings by his coarse novel of '*Jack Sheppard*,' our tastes and morals took the alarm, and the author was not only reviled in good set terms, but every murder or robbery committed about that period was laid to his door,—the murderer or robber had read '*Jack Sheppard.*' The same public and the same press are now applauding to the skies a work in comparison with which, in point of morality, '*Jack Sheppard*' was "milk for babes."

We must preface our remarks however by saying, that we believe the danger of immoral books is generally very much exaggerated, and usually dreaded from the wrong quarter. In the following observations we are assuming the ground

commonly taken by those who declaim against immoral books; and we do this to show that the objections made to French novels apply with triple force to '*Les Mystères de Paris*.'

Eugène Sue's offences against morality and against taste are on a par: his offences against decency are not less reprehensible. We shall select some examples. There is a disease, a rare but horrible disease, which forms the title of a chapter of '*Les Mystères*.' This is objectionable; but what epithet will the reader apply, when he learns that not only is this disease the title of a chapter, but also forms the whole subject of a chapter,—the progress of the disease, its internal effects and external signs, described with the pen of a medical student in a melodramatic state of mind? This disgusting chapter, be it observed, is introduced for its own sake; it is in no way necessary to the story. Had M. Sue no other way of punishing the lust of Jacques Ferrand but through the torments of madness, he might at least have contented himself with stating the fact, without describing it in all its details. But the whole episode of Cécily and Ferrand is one of the most daring licentiousness. It may be said however that M. Sue was endeavouring to paint the horrors of lust, and therefore employed the fiercest colours of his pallet. Be it so; but why paint it at all? will that cure the evil? will it not rather rouse the very devil it attempts to exorcise?

Let us turn also to his virtuous people. Madame d'Harville, the lady heroine of the book, and who is represented as the union of angelic sweetness and virtue, marries a man who is subject to epileptic fits, but who conceals the infirmity from her before marriage. Madame d'Harville, on discovering the deception practised upon her, takes an insurmountable aversion to her husband,—an aversion which neither his good qualities, nor his tenderness and kindness can at all mitigate. The deception was doubtless infamous; strange that so virtuous a man should have committed it! Madame d'Harville never forgives it: she consoles herself with secretly loving another man, Rodolphe; and to this Rodolphe she has the extraordinary audacity to narrate not only her husband's deception, but a circumstantial description of her wedding-night. We give the termination of it in her own words:—

“ Il faut pourtant que vous sachiez tout...sans cela...je vous paraîtrais trop méprisable...Eh bien ! reprit elle avec une résolution désespérée, on me conduisit dans l'appartement qui m'était destiné...on m'y laissa seule... M. d'Harville vint m'y rejoindre...Malgré ses protestations de tendresse, je me mourrais d'effroi...les sanglots me suffoquaient...j'étais à lui...il fallut résigner...Mais bientôt mon mari me saisit le bras à me le briser, en poussant un cri horrible...Je veux en vain me délivrer de cette étreinte de fer...implorer sa pitié...il ne m'entend plus...son visage est contracté par d'effrayantes convulsions...ses yeux roulent dans leur orbite avec une rapidité qui me fascine...sa bouche contournée est remplie d'une écume sanglante...sa main m'étreint toujours...je fais un effort désespéré...ses doigts roidis abandonnent enfin mon bras...et je m'évanouis au moment où M. d'Harville se débat dans le paroxysme de cette attaque...voilà ma nuit de noces, Monseigneur ! ”

A woman who talks thus to a young, handsome and accomplished prince, cannot surprise us if her conduct be a little free. But it might have been innocence which dictated that recital ; if so, what was it dictated her conduct to M. Charles Robert ? Hating her husband, who adores her, loving Rodolphe in secret, Madame d'Harville permits the attentions of a young imbecile dandy, M. Charles Robert, who affects to be miserable. She does not love this coxcomb,—she pities him ; her soul is pure, whilst her conduct is anything but pure. We are carefully apprised of the fact that she does not love him ; yet twice has she consented to meet him at a lodging he has furnished for the occasion, and is only saved from actual ruin by some remains of prudence or of fear ; and on a third occasion she is saved by the opportune appearance of Rodolphe. Such an intrigue is, in the eyes of most French novelists, nothing extraordinary : the Duchess de Lucenay, in the ‘ *Mystères*, ’ has her own key for a private entrance to her lover's house. We will say nothing then of the visits of Madame d'Harville, but we must insist upon the motives of those visits. When a woman loves another man she dishonours her husband ; she may then visit her lover with very little increase of blame. She sins, but passion prompts her, and we can understand her conduct while we reprobate it. But Madame d'Harville has not the plea of passion : she does not love M. Robert ; she pities him, because he is unhappy ; she visits him because she pities. He is melancholy, and he entreats ; she yields. One evening the Duc de Lucenay impertinently asks M. Robert whether he

has recovered from his *pituite*. Madame d'Harville feels so keenly for the insulted Robert, that of her own accord she proposes to recompense him by a meeting; and she goes, but is saved from adultery by Rodolphe. The morality of this is worth remarking. A virtuous well-bred christian heroine, married to a man she hates, loving another, proposes to visit a third at his lodgings to recompense him for an impertinence in which she had no share. This M. Sue calls an *imprudence*; we call it in him an impertinence: it is as ridiculous as it is immoral. One would think that conjugal ties were of silk, to be snapped by the smallest weight. Censors have usually been fierce enough at the idea of love being any excuse for guilt; what they would say to pity as an excuse remains to be seen: at present they have said nothing.

One of the very many paradoxes of 'Les Mystères' is, that the soul may be chaste in spite of the prostitution of the body. Chastity resides in the soul, and not in the body, according to the new doctrine: it is what you think, not what you do, that constitutes chastity. The heroine of 'Les Mystères,' Fleur de Marie, is the symbol of this new doctrine; but Madame d'Harville also illustrates it in another way. Fleur de Marie is a young girl of the very lowest class,—the companion of cut-throats, thieves and escaped convicts; she drinks brandy, talks *argot*, and is in short, except in gentleness and beauty, perfectly one of her class. She has been bred amongst thieves; she was educated in prison. But we are not to suppose that her soul was contaminated by the influences around her; no, her person was offered to the first bidder,—her soul was purity itself, pining for flowers, the country, running streams and babbling brooks. She is the type of innocence; all her tastes are poetical, all her expressions are elevated, all her sympathies are of the purest order, and with all this she is a prostitute. Nor is her profession an accident; at sixteen she left prison, with three hundred francs in her pocket, in company with her friend Rigolette. She preferred spending her money in idleness, to furnishing an apartment and gaining her livelihood by labour. This Rigolette did; but Rigolette is only a light-hearted honest grisette, not a type of innocence, who, after leading a life of the deepest degradation, is discovered to be a princess royal.

Fleur de Marie tells us herself that, after having been eight years in prison, she was anxious to enjoy her liberty : this is very natural, though not very prudent. She spends all her money, trusting to chance for work. Chance does not favour her : she is refused work at the shop where she first applies. Returning home she meets two procuresses, whom she knows to be such ; she consents to go with them : “ Je ne savais plus comment vivre . . . elles m’ont emmenée . . . elles m’ont fait boire de l’eau-de-vie ! . . et voilà ! . . . ” All this is very natural, we repeat ; but not with such a person as Fleur de Marie is afterwards described ; it is not the conduct of virtuous women.

It will be seen how exactly Fleur de Marie owes her creation to the same paradox as Madame d’Harville. To suppose that either of them are less chaste because of their conduct, is to suppose that virtue resides elsewhere than in the soul ; and to suppose that the soul and body are not separate, disparate existences, is to be a materialist. Fleur de Marie does not fall, as most wretched women fall ; she had no lover to deceive her, she had no passion to blind her ; the precipice yawned before her, she knew its danger if she did not know its depth ; a hideous old woman tempted her to plunge, and she plunged. She was idle, and would lead a life of idleness even if it were a life of infamy. And Fleur de Marie is a heroine in whom thousands of readers are taught to see grace, modesty, chastity !

We have insisted on this point because Madame d’Harville and Fleur de Marie being the two heroines of the book, the author’s strength and the reader’s interest are most bestowed on these two characters. We have not selected persons meant to be dissolute, such as Madame de Lucenay or the Countess Sarah Mac-Gregor de Halsbury, but those meant to be virtuous,—the heroines. From these the reader may judge of the book.

On the points of chastity and indecency, the foregoing examples will enable the reader to judge how far ‘*Les Mystères*’ may or may not deserve the reprobation commonly extended to French novels. We have now to mention the frequent attacks on society made by M. Eugène Sue in the name of philanthropy, and applauded because they are covered

with that cloak ; they would be execrated if presented as philosophical reflections by George Sand.

M. Sue in one place says : " Nous n'avons pas reculé devant " les tableaux les plus hideusement vrais, pensant que, comme " le feu . . . la vérité morale purifie tout." This is tolerably bold. After dragging his reader through all the horrors of prisons, hospitals, madhouses, resorts of bandits and prostitutes, after describing everything loathsome he can by any means ascertain or imagine to exist in the vilest retreats of vice and crime, he has the assurance to boast that he " has not shrunk " from painting them :—he has only shrunk from painting anything else. And the excuse that " la vérité morale " purifies everything, can only hold good when the truth is exact and the intention unmistakeably moral. Edwin Chadwick's Reports are the ' Mysteries of London ' ; they contain horrors enough for the most greedy ; they reveal how much misery exists unsuspected around us, and they point to the means of cure : no one would accuse these Reports of being immoral. But the case is totally different with ' Les Mystères de Paris : ' there all that is hideous is complacently brought into light ; not with rigorous exactness, not with a scientific purpose, but with absurd melodramatic exaggerations, and with the sole purpose of making novel-readers shudder. Both works are painful ; but the one is the pain inflicted by a surgeon, the other is pain inflicted wantonly or thoughtlessly. Mr. Chadwick's revelations were indispensable ; those of M. Sue, even had they been exact, improper.

So much for the staple of this work. There are individual portions still more open to censure. Rodolphe, who, as M. Sue profanely says, " joue le rôle de la Providence," takes the law into his own hands in the most lawless manner. He gets an escaped convict into his power by inciting him to commit a burglary. Instead of delivering him up to a feeble justice, which can only guillotine him, Rodolphe causes the ruffian's eyes to be put out ; and thus mutilated he sends him forth again into the world, to perpetrate new crimes and make the reader continue to shudder. A vile woman, having poisoned her mistress in order to marry her master, is subsequently detected in the very act of poisoning her husband : the husband simply drives her from his house ; he forbears

to prosecute her, because—he does not wish his name to be cited at the bar! The excellent Comte de Saint Remy, finding his son on the point of being arrested for forgery, gives him a pistol and sternly bids him blow out his brains rather than dishonour his name. The infamous Jacques Ferrand, when his crimes are all discovered, is not denounced to justice; Rodolphe takes upon himself the punishment of this villain, because the laws are inefficient. He makes him therefore restore all his plunder to the living victims, and with the surplus found a charitable institution for the poor. All this would be simply absurd, were it not accompanied by many pages of protest against the existing laws, their tyranny and inefficiency. It is the reasoning which these things are meant to illustrate that makes the book immoral. What the author constantly says,—that society places before its members a prospective gallows, but no prospective crown,—that we have only punishments for vice, but no rewards for virtue,—is very true as he states it, but he does not state it fairly. Virtue is its own reward, not in the mere copy-book system of morality, but in the plain, practical, utilitarian system. Upright conduct in a poor man, as in a rich man, seldom escapes notice; the estimation with which the honest labourer is regarded not only repays him for all virtuous efforts, but actually in the time of need becomes the instrument of his salvation; everybody is interested in him, everybody assists him. The very case put by M. Sue himself, of the Morel family, is one in point: do not Rigolette and the Pipelets assist them to their utmost, and do they not interest Rodolphe, who interests Madame d'Harville for them? Besides, by an oversight, which would be curious in one less blundering than M. Sue, Morel is made to be incorruptibly honest from *instinct*:—he does not think of relieving his misery by the appropriation of the diamonds on which he works; he does not even understand the very broad hint which his wife gives him to appropriate them: “La probité était tellement naturelle et pour ainsi dire organique chez cet homme, qu’il ne lui venait pas à l’esprit que sa femme, abattue, aigrie par le malheur, pût concevoir quelque arrière pensée mauvaise, et voulût tenter son irréprochable honnêteté.” If this honesty was an instinct strong enough to resist the most powerful tempta-

tion—the temptation afforded by easy plunder to rescue his wife and children from starvation—of what use would any system of rewards be to inculcate an instinct? That society is in an imperfect state no one will deny; but such writers as Eugène Sue are the last men in the world to perfect it; if from no other cause than this, that they mistake the crudity of the fruit for rottenness. Society is crude, but each stage of its existence is an approach towards ripeness. Society is imperfect, as so complex a machine must necessarily be; but the energies of millions of men are directed towards its amelioration, and that they will effect this we have little doubt; but they will not do it by tirades, by ‘*Les Mystères de Paris*’ and books of its stamp.

It is somewhat remarkable that the ‘*Journal des Débats*,’ the high conservative, constitutional and moral journal of France, should publish in its columns so undisguised a crusade against the existing laws. Does that journal hold itself responsible for M. Sue’s opinions, or does it oppose them? In the one case it is infamous, in the other it is imbecile.

We have said enough to show that ‘*Les Mystères de Paris*’ is an immoral work; no one in France questions it; the press is loud in condemnation of its “odious immorality”; nay, complaints have even been uttered in the Chamber of Deputies against permitting its publication. Yet the moral press of England is silent, and moral publishers send forth expensive editions. America and England are glutted with copies, both in French and English. Mr. Ainsworth, remembering the success of ‘*Jack Sheppard*,’ is about to make another venture; he announces an imitation of ‘*Les Mystères*,’—the ‘*Revelations of London*.’ But we predict that this will be a bad speculation: success cannot be imitated. In France publishers have in vain endeavoured to get up ‘*Les Mystères de Province*’ and ‘*Les Vrais Mystères de Paris*’; in Germany they clumsily attempt ‘*Mysteries of Hamburg*’; ‘*Revelations of London*’ must share the same fate. The trick cannot succeed twice in the same deced: the novelty has worn off, the hideousness remains. Besides, there is this insuperable obstacle to any imitation,—‘*Les Mystères*’ has produced a great effect by exaggerating everything to the utmost; any one who imitates that work must exaggerate still more, or he will be

feeble; but by greater exaggeration he will cease to be terrible,—he will be only ridiculous. It is even so with M. Eugène Sue himself; ‘*Les Mystères*’ has exhausted his melodramatic powers. He has so used asterisks, notes of admiration, italics and capitals,—he has so exhausted villainy, profligacy and crime,—he has so used contrasts, perilous adventures and miraculous deliveries, that they cannot be employed again without loss of effect. All the ordinary tricks of the melodramatist, which, sparingly used, would have lasted him through many works, he has concentrated in one: he has indeed produced one tremendous effect, but he has thereby exhausted his stock. The ‘*Wandering Jew*’ is pitiable. In ‘*Les Mystères*,’ whatever we may think of its morality, there is indubitably great dramatic skill; but ‘*Le Juif Errant*’ is the imbecility of rant mistaking its hoarseness for effect. There are the same tricks of composition, but they do not produce the same effect. And to think of a writer being paid the sum of 100,000 francs (4000*l.*) for such a work! But, large as is this sum, it is a light counterpoise to the contempt which he has universally inspired amongst men of judgement.

M. Eugène Sue has put into great requisition an artifice which will succeed once, and only once,—that of making the exception take the place of the rule. He does this in morals, and in the assemblage of incidents and personages. Other writers had before him used *argot*, but they used it in moderation; other writers before him had introduced robberies and murders, but they introduced them sparingly; other writers before him had described the miseries of the poor, the horrors of the prison and the madhouse, as a contrast to the splendour of aristocracy, but they used them with discretion. The principle of contrast has always been employed with care by good writers, who know that, though a good condiment, pepper is an insupportable food. M. Sue has employed contrast as the staple; it is as food that he offers it to the public, not as condiment of the food. The palate burns, is feverish; a strong effect has been produced, but it is not healthy, it cannot be repeated. A mere list of some of the characters will best explain our remark. Polidori, poisoner on a grand scale and producer of miscarriages; ‘*Le Maître d’Ecole*,’ murderer; *Le Chourineur*, murderer; *Barbillon*, murderer; *La famille Mar-*

tial, murderers ; La Chouette, murderess ; Madame d'Orbigny, murderess ; Le Squelette, murderer ; Gros Boiteux, murderer ; Bras Rouge, robber and spy ; Père Micou, receiver of stolen goods ; Mère Burette, the same ; Tortillard, robber ; Vicomte de Saint Remy, forger ; Jacques Ferrand, murderer, forger, cheat, hypocrite, and everything else that is criminal ; Cécily, a female demon ; la duchesse de Lucenay, adulteress ; Madame d'Harville, adulteress, but innocent ; Fleur de Marie, a prostitute, but innocent ; L'Ogresse, a procuress ; Madame Seraphin, accomplice of Jacques Ferrand ; Countess Sarah MacGregor, a diabolical woman, but whose hands for a wonder are not stained with blood. Here are *stimulants* enough for a whole circulating library, especially as most of these criminals are not content with one crime ; and all these crimes and criminals,—with perilous adventures and hairbreadth escapes, pictures of misery, poverty and disease,—with denunciations against the laws,—with the agonies of remorse,—and then, by way of contrast, idyllic scenes of country life, or scenes of Parisian splendour,—a suicide, a violation, a forgery, a duel, a burglary, an abduction, an arrest and an execution,—all these huddled together into one book no doubt produce an *effect*, but what an effect ! By thus making the exception to be the rule, and by calculating on that fearful interest which mankind take in crimes and criminals, has M. Sue succeeded. He has done this with considerable cleverness, we admit. He never dwells long enough on any scene to weary his reader. By dint of abrupt changes of subject, and of asterisks, he avoids all narration of circumstances not in themselves exciting. A murder a volume is the ordinary proportion of “stimulating” novels,—M. Sue gives you repose once in a volume.

We never read any romance so fantastically improbable—we would say so impossible—as ‘Les Mystères.’ In this respect, again, we see the same principle of making the exception to be the rule. Other writers occasionally allow themselves the licence of an improbability,—M. Eugène Sue makes improbability his law : he shocks our credence at every turn ; his characters, when they happen to have any touches of truth in them, are so placed that it is impossible those traits could have existed under such circumstances. With fairies, gnomes and demons we are easily at home, but

we cannot familiarize ourselves with men and women who have nothing human but the name and habiliments.

Another point in the creation of the characters is also worthy of remark, as proceeding from the same principle of using the exception as if it were the rule; it is that of contrast. If M. Sue wishes to paint innocence, he takes a *fille de joie* as his type; Rigolette, the real type, is only a light-hearted grisette. If he wishes to show the fidelity, gratitude and devotion of one man to another, he selects a murderer, Le Chourineur. If he wishes to paint the violence of lust, it is not in the person of a young, ardent roué, but an old, miserly hypocrite, Jacques Ferrand. If he wishes to depict the terrors of remorse, he chooses a man criminal by instinct and steeped in the crimes of a long career, le Maître d'Ecole. Does he introduce a physician of consummate skill, that physician must be a negro,—or a man of vast science, that man must be a charlatan and a poisoner. In order to present conjugal affection, he selects two farcical old *concierges*; in order to paint the natural abhorrence of vice in children, he selects them from a family of hereditary robbers and murderers. Contrast is his eternal trick. The man sitting in that 'boozing ken,' drinking brandy with thieves and talking *argot*,—that man today is planning a burglary and tonight at the ambassador's ball, for he is the prince royal of a German principality. Rodolphe is not only a prince; he is *providence* rescuing the innocent and punishing the guilty; he is justice, and his own executioner. Though slim of stature, he thrashes the most terrible of the herculean cut-throats of *la Cité*, for he has learnt boxing from "*Crabb de Ramsgate*" (we presume M. Sue means Tom Crib), and his frame, though slight, is of iron. That young prostitute who sits beside him, demanding brandy because the wine is not strong enough, is a very different person from what appearances would lead you to conclude; she is the type of innocence, and a princess royal.

To write a book like 'Les Mystères,' a certain amount of literary ability was of course necessary, but we are persuaded that had M. Eugène Sue possessed a few grains of talent more than he possesses, he could not have written that book; he would not have had the audacity to do so, unless he had believed the thing he was doing to be excellent. A certain

amount of dullness is necessary to such success. If the author be too sharp-sighted, he will see what ought *not* to please the reader rather than what will please him; he will therefore avoid many things which constitute success; he will avoid too much contrast, lest the trick should be discovered; but the trick never is discovered by the million. He will be careful not to exaggerate too much, lest the reader should be rebutted; but the reader seldom is rebutted. He likes an artist to paint in pure colours: if a devil is to be presented, paint him black, very black, the blacker the better; employ no neutral tints. The author, in short, who is to please the million must write as the million think; the average intelligence is necessarily a small one.

There would be no great harm in Eugène Sue's success, were it not for the baneful influence which such books exercise on the writers and readers most susceptible of bad influence, and therefore most requiring to be guarded against it. As we have before said, we have little fear for the morals of the readers of 'Les Mystères'; there is small direct danger in the worst of such works, and we have exposed the impropriety of this one principally to bring forward the glaring inconsistency of English judgements, and their curious laxity with respect to this work compared with their fierce virtue displayed against other French novels. But although we believe morals are but slightly affected in any direct manner by such works,—morals being in truth our *mores*, our trained habits,—yet the injury to taste must be very great. Readers cannot easily reconcile themselves to simpler food after feasting on such highly-seasoned dishes. Scott and Jane Austen, the best and healthiest of all our modern novelists, would be very insipid after 'Les Mystères'; and the craving for strong excitement on the part of the reader naturally affects the writer, who, if he wishes to succeed, must pander to that craving. But excitement is in itself deleterious: it is a spasm, not a healthy action; it may be occasionally produced with propriety, but each occasion should be deliberately calculated. What excitement is there in our greatest writers?

It is on the public taste that 'Les Mystères' will have a deleterious influence, and the evidences of that influence are already abundant. Not to mention the innumerable imi-

tations with which the press is overstocked, the Paris booksellers announce a voluminous work on the Galleys, in which "types des mœurs,"—that is to say, *specimen convicts*,—will be elaborately described. Where is this tendency to end? Are the outcasts of society so interesting, that we are to have an entire branch of literature devoted to them?

Before quitting 'Les Mystères,' we cannot avoid adverting to M. Sue's graphic power for stage effect, and to the gusto with which he describes every species of generosity and good-nature. There are ruffians enough in his novel, but they are ill-drawn, exaggerated; and, singularly enough, they often exhibit signs of good-nature, which, though inconsistent with the characters as M. Sue describes them, yet seem to be the irresistible impulses, the excellent inconsequences of M. Sue's own *bonhomie*. The Chourineur begins as a brute, but he is very soon transformed into a model of fine feeling. La Louve, as her name implies, is the incarnation of ferocity; after a few chapters she becomes tame, generous and gentle. Madame Pipelet was meant at first for a vile, cheating, dram-drinking hag; the author speaks of her as *la hideuse vieille*; but she is quickly transformed into a jovial, farcical, good-natured *concierge*. Even the Maître d'Ecole, the most terrible of all the brigands, has gratuitous impulses of kindness, and saves La Goualeuse from being disfigured and from being drowned. Then Rigolette is the incarnation of good-nature; Sir Walter Murph is devotion; Madame George and her labourers are all models; Morel is honesty and endurance in their highest expression. We are glad to be able to dwell on this point, as a good set-off against the rest of the work; it does not make 'Les Mystères' a moral book, but it makes M. Sue a more estimable author.

It is now time to say a word or two on such portions of 'Le Juif Errant' as have been published up to this moment. There has hitherto been none of the immorality of 'Les Mystères,' but, on the other hand, there is more than the usual feebleness and bad taste in the composition. All the coarse, stale tricks of the feeblest writers of melodramas are employed by M. Sue as the principles of composition; and his style, which was never excellent, has now become execrable,—inflated, vulgar and abrupt. All the faults of 'Les Mystères'

appear in 'Le Juif Errant,' and appear in all their nakedness. The painful interest always felt in criminals, the novelty of the scenes, the language and the manners which are portrayed in 'Les Mystères,' served to conceal from the careless reader the tricks and vulgarities of style; but in 'Le Juif Errant' we trust few can be blind to these faults. The whole conception of the 'Juif Errant' is unfortunate. Of all subjects M. Sue should have avoided the imaginative, and of all imaginative subjects he should have avoided the legendary. Stories so naïvely poetical as that of the 'Wandering Jew' require a delicate pen to trace their outlines. None but an airy, poetical, legendary spirit could fitly interpret so wild a legend; unless indeed some philosophical spirit, viewing it as a symbol and treating it as such. To make the 'Wandering Jew' the subject of a melodrama,—to write that unutterably sad story with the same pen and with the same purpose as the 'Mystères de Paris,'—is a mistake so gross as to deserve the derision which it will inevitably meet with.

Having shown his powers as a painter of society, M. Sue now exhibits his powers as an imaginative writer. He has chosen a subject demanding the rich, delicate, chaste and dignified style of the author of 'Lélia,' and has treated it in a style of which the following is a fair sample; it forms a portion of the Prologue. After describing Behring Straits, he says:—

" Du côté de la terre américaine, l'empreinte des pas, petite et légère, annonce le passage d'une femme...

" Elle s'est dirigée vers les roches d'où l'on aperçoit, au delà du détroit, les steppes neigeuses de la Sibérie...

" Du côté de la Sibérie, l'empreinte plus grande, plus profonde, annonce le passage d'un homme.

" Il s'est aussi dirigé vers le détroit.

" On dirait que cet homme et cette femme arrivant ainsi en sens contraire aux extrémités du globe, ont espéré s'entrevoir à travers l'étroit bras de mer qui sépare les deux mondes!

" Chose plus étrange encore! cet homme et cette femme ont traversé ces solitudes pendant une horrible tempête...

" Quelques noirs mélèzes centenaires, pointant naguère çà et là dans ces déserts, comme des croix dans un champ de repos, ont été arrachés, brisés, emportés au loin par la tourmente.

" A cet ouragan furieux, qui déracine les grands arbres, qui ébranle les montagnes de glace, qui les heurte masse contre masse, avec le fracas de la foudre... à cet ouragan furieux ces deux voyageurs ont fait face.

“ Ils lui ont fait face sans dévier un moment de la ligne invariable qu’ils suivaient... on le devine à la trace de leur marche égale, droite et ferme.

“ Quels sont donc ces deux êtres qui cheminent toujours calmes au milieu des convulsions, des bouleversements de la nature ?

* * * * *

“ Mais bientôt une nuit sans crépuscule a succédé au jour...

“ Nuit sinistre...

“ A la faveur de l’éclatante réfraction de la neige on voit le steppe dérouler sa blancheur infinie sous une coupole d’un azur si sombre, qu’il semble noir ; de pâles étoiles se perdent dans les profondeurs de cette voûte obscure et glacée.

“ Le silence est solennel...

“ Mais voilà que vers le détroit de Behring une faible lueur apparaît à l’horizon.

“ C’est d’abord une clarté douce, bleuâtre, comme celle qui précède l’ascension de la lune... puis, cette clarté augmente, rayonne et se colore d’un rose léger.

“ Sur tous les autres points du ciel les ténèbres redoublent ; c’est à peine si la blanche étendue du désert, tout à l’heure si visible, se distingue de la noire voussure du firmament.

“ Au milieu de cette obscurité, on entend des bruits confus, étranges.

“ On dirait le vol tour à tour crépitant ou appesanti de grands oiseaux de nuit qui, éperdus, rasent le steppe et s’y abattent.

“ Mais on n’entend pas un cri.

“ Cette muette épouvante annonce l’approche d’un de ces imposants phénomènes qui frappent de terreur tous les êtres animés, des plus féroces jusqu’aux plus inoffensifs... Une aurore boréale, spectacle si magnifique et si fréquent dans les régions polaires, resplendit tout à coup...

“ A l’horizon se dessine un demi-globe d’éclatante clarté. Du centre de ce foyer éblouissant jaillissent d’immenses colonnes de lumière qui, s’élevant à des hauteurs incommensurables, illuminent le ciel, la terre, la mer... Alors des reflets ardents comme ceux d’un incendie glissent sur la neige du désert, empourprent la cime bleuâtre des montagnes de glace, et colorent d’un rouge vif les hautes roches noires des deux continents.

“ Après avoir atteint ce rayonnement magnifique, l’aurore boréale pâlit peu à peu, ses vives clartés s’éteignent dans un brouillard lumineux.

“ A ce moment, grâce à un singulier effet de mirage, fréquent dans ces latitudes, quoique séparée de la Sibérie par la largeur d’un bras de mer, la côte américaine sembla tout à coup si rapprochée, qu’on aurait cru pouvoir jeter un pont de l’un à l’autre monde.

“ Alors au milieu de la vapeur transparente et azurée qui s’étendait sur les deux terres, deux figures humaines apparurent.

“ Sur le cap sibérien... un homme à genoux étendait les bras vers l’Amérique avec une expression de désespoir incommensurable.

“ Sur le promontoire américain, une femme jeune et belle répondait au geste désolé de cet homme, en lui montrant le ciel.....

" Pendant quelques secondes, ces deux grandes figures se dessinèrent ainsi pâles et vaporeuses aux dernières lueurs de l'aurore boréale.

" Mais le brouillard s'épaississant peu à peu, tout disparut dans les ténèbres.

" D'où venaient ces deux êtres qui se rencontraient ainsi sous les glaces polaires, à l'extrémité des mondes ?

" Quelles étaient ces deux créatures, un instant rapprochées par un mirage trompeur, mais qui semblaient séparées pour l'éternité ? "

This is a striking specimen of the feuilleton sublime ! The Wandering Jew and the Wandering Jewess having a pantomimic interview across Behring Straits ; the Jew overwhelmed with an " incommensurable despair," and the Jewess pointing to Heaven, would have made an appropriate tableau at the *Porte St. Martin*. No doubt the *Gants Jaunes*, amongst the readers of the 'Débats,' have been amazingly impressed with the sublimity of this Prologue ; they must also have been somewhat mystified. M. Sue keeps them in suspense for several feuilletons ; and then, towards the close of the second volume, he gives them an explanation in an imaginative Epilogue, which is quite equal in all respects to the Prologue. Here is a specimen of it. He has described a desolated valley, and thus continues :—

" Car pendant ces années maudites, un terrible voyageur a lentement parcouru la terre d'un pôle à l'autre... du fond de l'Inde et de l'Asie... aux glaces de la Sibérie... des glaces de la Sibérie jusqu'aux grèves de l'Océan français.

" Ce voyageur, mystérieux comme la mort, lent comme l'éternité, implacable comme le destin, terrible comme la main de Dieu... c'était...

" LE CHOLERA ! ! !

" Le bruit des cloches et des chants funèbres montait toujours des profondeurs de la vallée au sommet de la colline comme une grande voix plaintive.

" La lueur des torches funéraires s'apercevait toujours au loin à travers la brume du soir...

" Le crépuscule durait encore. Heure étrange, qui donne aux formes les plus arrêtées une apparence vague, insaisissable, fantastique...

" Mais le sol pierreux et sonore de la montagne a résonné sous un pas lent, égal et ferme... à travers les grands troncs noirs des arbres... un homme a passé.

" Sa taille était haute ; il tenait sa tête baissée sur sa poitrine ; sa figure était noble, douce et triste... Ses sourcils, unis entre eux, s'étendaient d'une tempe à l'autre et semblaient rayer son front d'une marque sinistre...

“Cet homme ne semblait pas entendre les tintements lointains de tant de cloches funèbres... et pourtant, deux jours auparavant, le calme, le bonheur, la santé, la joie, régnaient dans ces villages, qu'il avait lentement traversés et qu'il laissait alors derrière lui mornes et désolés.

“Mais ce voyageur continuait sa route, absorbé dans ses pensées.

“Le 13 février approche, pensait-il ; ils approchent... ces jours où les descendants de ma sœur bien-aimée, ces derniers rejetons de notre race doivent être réunis à Paris...

“Hélas ! pour la troisième fois il y a cent cinquante ans, la persécution l'a disséminée par toute la terre, cette famille qu'avec tendresse j'ai suivi d'âge en âge, pendant dix-huit siècles... au milieu de ses migrations, de ses exils, de ses changements de religion, de fortune et de nom !

“Oh ! pour cette famille, issue de ma sœur, à à moi, pauvre artisan, que de grandeurs, que d'abaissements, que d'obscurité, que d'éclat, que de misères, que de gloire !

“De combien de crimes elle s'est souillée... de combien de vertus elle s'est honorée !

“L'histoire de cette seule famille... c'est l'histoire de l'humanité tout entière !

“Passant à travers tant de générations, par les veines du pauvre et du riche, du souverain et du bandit, du sage et du fou, du lâche et du brave, du saint et de l'athée, le sang de ma sœur s'est perpétué jusqu'à cette heure.

“De cette famille... que reste-t-il aujourd'hui ?

“Sept rejetons !

“Deux orphelines filles d'une mère proscrite, et d'un père proscrit.

“Un prince détrôné ;

“Un pauvre prêtre missionnaire ;

“Un homme de condition moyenne ;

“Une jeune fille de grand nom et de grande fortune ;

“Un artisan.

“A eux tous, ils résument les vertus, le courage, les dégradations, les splendeurs, les misères de notre race !...

“La Sibérie... l'Inde... l'Amérique... la France... voilà où le sort les a jetés !

“L'instinct m'avertit, lorsqu'un des miens est en péril... alors du Nord au Midi... de l'Orient à l'Occident, je vais à eux... je vais à eux ; hier sous les glaces du pôle, aujourd'hui sous une zone tempérée... demain sous le feu des tropiques, mais souvent, hélas ! au moment où ma présence pourrait les sauver, la main invisible me pousse, le tourbillon m'emporte, et...

“— MARCHE !... MARCHE !...

“— Qu'au moins je finisse ma tâche !...

“— MARCHE !...

“— Une heure seulement !... une heure de repos !...

“— MARCHE !...

“— Hélas ! je laisse ceux que j'aime au bord de l'abîme !...

“ — MARCHÉ !... MARCHÉ !!!

“ ‘Tel est mon châtement... S’il est grand... mon crime a été plus grand encore !...’

“ ‘Artisan voué aux privations, à la misère... le malheur m’avait rendu méchant...’

“ ‘Oh ! maudit... maudit soit le jour où pendant que je travaillais, sombre, haineux, désespéré, parce que, malgré mon labeur acharné, les miens manquaient de tout... le Christ a passé devant ma porte !’

“ ‘Poursuivi d’injures, accablé de coups, portant à grand peine sa lourde croix, il m’a demandé de se reposer, un moment, sur mon banc de pierre... Son front ruisselait, ses pieds saignaient, la fatigue le brisait... et avec une douceur navrante, il me disait : Je souffre !...’

“ ‘— Et moi aussi, je souffre... lui ai-je répondu en le repoussant avec colère, avec dureté, je souffre, mais personne ne me vient en aide... Les impitoyables... font les impitoyables !... Marche !... marche !’

“ ‘Alors, lui, poussant un soupir douloureux, m’a dit :

“ ‘— Et toi, tu marcheras sans cesse jusqu’à ta redemption, ainsi le veut le Seigneur qui est aux cieux.’

“ ‘Et mon châtement a commencé...’

“ ‘Depuis dix-huit siècles, les puissants et les heureux disent à ce peuple de travailleurs... ce que j’ai dit au Christ implorant et souffrant : — Marche... marche...’

“ ‘Et ce peuple, comme lui brisé de fatigue, comme lui, portant une lourde croix... dit comme lui avec une tristesse amère :

“ ‘Oh ! par pitié... quelques instants de trêve... nous sommes épuisés...’

“ ‘— Marche !’

“ ‘— Mais si nous mourons à la peine, que deviendront et nos petits enfants, et nos vieilles mères ?’

“ ‘— Marche... marche...’

“ ‘Et depuis des siècles, eux et moi nous marchons et nous souffrons, sans qu’une voix charitable nous ait dit : assez !!!’

“ ‘Hélas... tel est mon châtement, il est immense... il est double...’

“ ‘Je souffre au nom de l’humanité en voyant des populations misérables, vouées sans relâche à d’ingrats et rudes travaux.’

“ ‘Je souffre au nom de la famille, en ne pouvant, moi, pauvre et errant, venir toujours en aide aux miens, à ces descendants d’une sœur chérie.’

“ ‘Mais quand la douleur est au-dessus de mes forces !... quand je pressens pour les miens un danger dont je ne peux les sauver, alors traversant les mondes, ma pensée va trouver cette femme, comme moi maudite... cette fille de reine qui, comme moi fils d’artisan, marche... marche, et marchera jusqu’au jour de sa redemption...’

“ ‘Une seule fois par siècle, ainsi que deux planètes se rapprochent dans leur évolution séculaire... je puis rencontrer cette femme... pendant la fatale semaine de la Passion.’

“ ‘Et après cette entrevue remplie de souvenirs terribles et de douleurs immenses, astres errants de l’éternité, nous poursuivons notre course infinie.’

“ Et cette femme, la seule qui, comme moi, sur la terre, assiste à la fin de chaque siècle, en disant : Encore !! cette femme, d'un bout du monde à l'autre, répond à ma pensée...

“ Elle qui seule au monde partage mon terrible sort, a voulu partager l'unique intérêt qui m'ait consolé à travers les siècles... Ces descendants de ma sœur chérie, elle les aime aussi... elle les protège aussi. Pour eux aussi, de l'Orient à l'Occident, du Nord au Midi... elle va... elle arrive. Mais, hélas ! la main invisible la pousse aussi... le tourbillon l'emporte aussi. Et :

“ — MARCHE !...

“ — Qu'au moins je finisse ma tâche, dit-elle aussi.

“ — MARCHE.

“ — Une heure... rien qu'une heure de repos !

“ — MARCHE.

“ — Je laisse ceux que j'aime au bord de l'abîme.

“ — MARCHE... MARCHE !!

Our remarks on M. Sue's composition will be seen abundantly illustrated in the above extracts. The notes of admiration, the broken sentences, the capital letters, the brief paragraphs and the inflated language, are so many tricks to swell the feebleness of his conceptions into something which shall look like grandeur. Every one knows how cheap is the emphasis attained by capital letters and notes of admiration : it is the contortion of rant, not the vehemence of passion. There is but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous : either this Epilogue is fearfully grand, or it is supremely ridiculous,—let the reader decide.

When not thus soaring into the highest heaven of his invention, M. Sue treats us to Morok, “dompteur des bêtes féroces.” Morok is meant to be terrible ; so he is to the unfortunate beasts, whom he burns on the muzzle with a red-hot iron ; but that reader must have very susceptible nerves who shudders at such a mountebank. It is worthy of remark how constantly M. Sue misses the real strength of his subject in an endeavour to overdo it : Morok is an instance. He is a Van Amburg, who tames wild beasts and exhibits them. Like Van Amburg, he commands the beasts by fear and not by kindness. Surely there is enough gratification in the simple fact that a man can subdue lions and tigers to such a degree that they shall fawn on him,—that they shall dread him as much as ordinary human beings dread them. No matter how he does it, great courage, strength and presence of mind are

required. M. Sue is not content with these,—he makes his lion-tamer invulnerable; that is to say, Morok always wears a complete suit of chain-armour underneath his clothes, so that when the lions bite they only grind their teeth against steel. To pass by the absurdity of this,—to admit that the chain-armour could be worn without detection, or that a lion seizing a man's leg in his mouth would not crush that leg in spite of the armour,—would only be granting the author that licence of probability of which he so liberally avails himself. But there remains a weightier objection,—Morok being invulnerable is no longer terrible. There is no bravery in his entering a lion's cage with a red-hot iron in his hand, with which he can inflict the most agonizing pain, if sure that the armour he wears protects him from the fury of the animal. Van Amburg would gain no admirers in this way. But M. Sue was not content with the skill and courage of a Van Amburg; he wanted some one more terrible, and he invented Morok.

We need occupy no more of our reader's time with an exposition of the absurdities of M. Eugène Sue. We should not have dwelt on them so long, had not the extraordinary popularity of his last two works compelled us. But we could no longer remain silent; and we were glad to seize the opportunity of illustrating that curious tendency in the English public, to hate vehemently and unreflectingly whatever it is told to hate, and to read admiringly and unreflectingly whatever it is not told to shun. The same public that will not read George Sand, devour '*Les Mystères de Paris*.' We do not say that George Sand is not open to most of the objections which "mothers of families" and rigid critics conceive it necessary to make; but we do say that '*Les Mystères*' is incomparably more open to them, and is, upon any received notions of immoral novels, one of the most immoral we ever read.

ARTICLE VIII.

1. *History of the Greek Revolution.* By THOMAS GORDON (a General in the Greek service). 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1832.
2. *Greece as a Kingdom ; or a Statistical Description of that Country, from the arrival of King Otho, in 1833, down to the present time.* By F. STRONG, Esq., Consul at Athens to the Kings of Bavaria and Hanover. London: Longmans, 1842.
3. *L'Etat actuel de la Grèce.* By Prof. THIERSCH. 2 vols. 8vo. Munich, 1832.
4. *The Hellenic Kingdom.* By G. FINLAY, Esq. 1 vol. 8vo. London, Murray, 1836.
5. *Das Griechische Volk, vor und nach dem Freiheitskampfe bis zum 31 July 1834.* Von GEORG LUDWIG VON MAURER. Heidelberg, 1835.
6. *Parliamentary Papers.—Correspondence relating to recent Events in Greece : 1843 to 1844.* Presented to the House of Commons by Her Majesty, in pursuance of their Address of March 14th, 1844.
7. *Commercial Tariffs and Regulations.* Part IX.—Greece. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty, July 14th, 1843.
8. *Histoire de la Régénération de la Grèce.* By Monsieur POUQUEVILLE. Paris, 1824.

FEW, we are persuaded, will participate in the sentiment with which M. La Martine surprises his readers in the account of his few days' visit to Greece, given in the 'Pilgrimage to the East:'—

"C'est là Argos ; tout près de là est le tombeau d'Agamemnon. Mais que m'importe Agamemnon, et son empire ? ces vieilleries historiques et politiques ont perdu l'intérêt de la jeunesse et de la vérité. Je voudrais voir seulement une vallée d'Arcadie ; j'aime mieux un arbre, une source sous le rocher, un laurier rose au bord d'un fleuve, sous l'arche écroulée d'un pont tapissé de lianes, que le monument d'un de ces royaumes classiques qui ne rappellent plus rien à mon esprit que l'ennui qu'ils m'ont donné dans mon enfance."

We venture, nevertheless, to think that these classic regions still have some interest,—that Homer and Herodotus are something more than the names of dull school-books,—Athens

and Mycenæ spots where some associations linger. It seems to us that the scene, which the French poet looked at as a mere picture, should bring to the scholar's mind the doomed fortunes of "Atreus' royal line," and the immortal trilogy of Æschylus. But even if "these old histories" have lost, or could ever lose the power to charm, there are not wanting associations which have all the freshness of youth. By the modern Greeks the national assembly of Argos is regarded as the flower of the great *ἀγώνα*, or struggle for national freedom, and the destined seed-vessel of constitutional liberty. Some excuse, however, may be made for M. La Martine's indifference. At the time of his visit to Nauplia in 1832, the Assembly had been lately closed amidst factions called into life by the tyranny of Capo d'Istria. We happen to know also that at that period occasional parties of Palikars might be seen crossing the plain of Argos, and that the ring of the 'Toupiki' was now and then heard on the rocks of Mycenæ. Classical and poetic sympathies might therefore be a little disturbed, and it is not impossible that the prudence of the pilgrim-poet had as much to do with his affected want of interest, as the reminiscences of weary school-tasks, relieved by the occasional stimulant of birch or cane. Certain it is that he declined the escort that was offered him, and preferred a trip upon his Pegasus, to a canter over the kingdom of Agamemnon upon the Arab of an ambassador.

It is thus that numerous travellers of all countries, grades, talents and professions, pass through, or rather by, Greece, without giving to their respective countries even a proximate idea of the true state of the kingdom of Hellas, of its origin and its prospects. Indeed for the last ten years all interest about Greece had been lost in the dull German system supposed to be quietly carried on there by the Bavarians; and it was only when instalments of loans were called for or paid, that the newspapers condescended to refer to the country, except by the insertion in small print of an occasional letter from Athens or Patras, convenient for filling up a vacant corner. The poetry of the subject, as well as the business view of it, appeared for a time to have been exhausted, when suddenly last September a Greek revolution was announced to the world,—a revolution without bloodshed, without vengeance, begun and ended in a day, effected by the mere

declaration of the will of the people, at once accepted by two of the great protecting powers of Greece, and subsequently by the third, and finally recognized by all the other states of Europe. Interested and excited by this event and its consequences, the public mind has once more awakened to some curiosity about Greece and the Greeks, and begins to realize to itself the important fact, that a million of freemen are associated under a well-defined constitution, in a country between Europe and Asia, of extraordinary natural strength, of which, as mountaineers and mariners, they know well how to take advantage; that about ten times that number, allied to them in blood, religion and language, are dispersed in fruitful lands on the shores of the *Ægean*, the *Euxine* and the *Danube*, among an Asiatic people "encamped" for three centuries on this fair portion of Christendom; and that these latter are now melting away and breaking off from their central government, as if the force of cohesion in the Moslem faith had lost its power. What Greece was, is, and must be, is no poet's dream or idle tourist's theory; it is a fact of extreme gravity, in which some millions of the human race are much concerned, and which, looked at under the light of philosophy, religion, politics or commerce, should interest all who feel and acknowledge themselves to be members of the great human family.

Various causes have combined to give us a false or imperfect view of Greece, whether derived from books or conversation. In spite of the hundreds of travellers who have visited her shores, *Hellas* is scarcely better known than she was twenty years since. Naval captains have seen her during the war, and, without making any distinction between the Greeks of the *Ionian* islands and the *Levant*, and those of *Hellas*, talk of the pirates or bomboatmen of 1827, and draw general inferences, as if they had the most minute knowledge of the country, moral, statistical and political,—Indians returning to Europe and changing steamboats at Athens, or at most visiting the plains of *Argos* and *Marathon*, pronounce a sweeping condemnation, because they find bad dinners and bad lodging,—*Dilettanti* and classical travellers from England or Germany, condescend to notice nothing later than the days of *Pericles* or *Herodes Atticus*, and write treatises discussing inscriptions, ancient manners, or new theories of the gods. Lastly, a

crowd of young officers or collegians, with a few sketching and journal-writing ladies, land at the Peiræus, partake of the hospitality of our kind and excellent minister Sir E. Lyons, parade their jewels or their uniforms at the palace, ride bad horses over bad roads, cross gulfs in boats for a fortnight, and, scarcely knowing whether Pericles or St. Paul lived first, or whether the battle of Plataea or the siege of Missolonghi was the more ancient conflict, proceed to speak grandiloquently of Greece "*à tort et à travers*" for the rest of their lives. The merchants who visit Greece from England, do so only in their way to other countries, and seldom afterwards concern themselves about a place where the small consumption of English goods, bought principally by native Greeks in England, promises small profits. Causes therefore, sufficiently obvious, exist for the ignorance of the detail of Greek life in England, the neglect of the subject, or the prejudice and false views with which it is generally treated.

Nevertheless Hellas *is* something more than a set of illustrations drawn by nature, to satisfy the readers of Homer, Pindar and Thucydides; and the deep entaglios which Providence has decreed should exist in the character of her inhabitants, have not endured the shock of more ages than her oldest inscriptions, without indicating far other results than the verification of historic doubts, or the correction of manuscripts; we think, therefore, that an acceptable service would be rendered if a faithful account were given of the actual condition of its people, more especially as affected or modified by the late national movement. But as it is impossible rightly to understand or appreciate the late events of which Greece, and Athens in particular, has been the theatre, without a general notion of her history since the epoch of her regeneration, we propose in this article to give such a brief retrospect and summary as may serve to explain and illustrate her present position.

The first great struggle for liberty, after the consolidation of the ancient Greek states, comes down to us stamped more especially with the portrait of one man, Themistocles; and if, after the lapse of twenty-three centuries, we were again to trace to its source the stream of freedom, which has burst forth anew, we should find it in the noble impatience of oppression which animated the breast of a single philosophic

and philanthropic patriot. Well-educated and conversant with Europe, Rhigas for years pursued, almost alone, his undeviating purpose; like Hamlet he found the "time was out of joint," and lived only to seek and obtain vengeance for his parent's wrongs. To this end he painfully explored every corner of Greece, of which he constructed and published a map on a large scale, and, considering his means, of wonderful accuracy; he wrote songs, elegies and ballads, to excite and prepare the minds of his countrymen, and associated thousands in a secret society. To perfect his plan, he visited personally every man of influence in Greece, Thessaly, Macedonia and the islands. He had prepared lists of those most in his confidence, and was ready to pass into Albania, when, in 1796 or 1797, he was seized at Trieste by the Austrians (always enemies of freedom and friends of despotism, even when under an infidel form), and delivered to the Turks, by whom he was put to death at Belgrade; but not before he had time, it is believed, in the intervals of torture, to *eat* the list of names of those who would have been compromised. Some of these men are still alive, and regard Rhigas as the father of the Greek insurrection, which, be it remembered, has always been a struggle for religion as much as for freedom. The French revolution and the projects of Napoleon succeeded, and till 1814 the Greek nation remained a passive but not uninterested spectator of the great contests of Europe.

At the Congress of Vienna Alexander Ipsilanti was present, and his views and enthusiasm were sounded and reported on by the fair spies who formed part of the cortège of the Russian court. He also attempted a negotiation at Laybach with the Czar, and was coldly repulsed, for Alexander had not then finally determined on a war with the Turks; but in 1815 three obscure Greeks at Constantinople renewed the great plan of the Hetaëria, or secret brotherhood, and Ipsilanti, then a Russian general, fell in with George Kantekuzene and other officers at the head of Albanian troops at Jassy, who were already members of it. The consequence was an outbreak on the banks of the Danube, in March, 1821, which has been signalized by the first proclamation of Greeks openly and boldly appealing to Europe for aid. The Emperor of Russia contented himself with dismissing Ipsilanti from his service, and

forbidding his generals on the frontiers to exceed the bounds of neutrality. Austria hastened to follow his example. Ipsilanti and Kantekuzene were soon at the head of 8000 men; the war was carried on near Widdin, Braila and Galatch, and it was not till 1826 that peace was restored by the convention of Akerman. During this interval (from 1815 to 1821) Count Capo d'Istria, a Corfiote gentleman, who had risen in the Russian service from a secretary to a cabinet minister, had converged into a focus the scattered sympathies of many for his suffering country, by a society called Philomusa, ostensibly limited to the encouragement of literature and science, and to the raising of the moral feeling of the Greeks. At length the Turks, unable to conquer their Christian subjects, resorted to massacre, even under the eyes of the Sultan; and 20,000 to 30,000 are said to have perished in Constantinople at Easter 1821, at which period the Patriarch Gregory was hanged and his body dragged through the streets. The next year witnessed the dreadful butchery at Scio, where not less than 60,000 of the unoffending inhabitants perished or were sold into slavery. No sooner had the news from Moldavia reached Greece, already prepared in some degree by the Hetæria, than a general movement took place; and in March, 1821, the Bishop Germanos raised the standard of the Cross near Patras. He was immediately joined by Pietro Bey Mavromichali of Maina, Colocotroni of Caretina, Notaras of Corinth, Mavrocordato from Constantinople, the Condouriottes, Boudouris and Tzamedos, from Hydra, the Botzares and others from northern Greece; and from this period the war of emancipation was carried on with unabated fury, till the Moslems were driven from the Morea. However, in 1825, Ibrahim Pasha was called by the despairing Sultan from Egypt, and dispatched with an overpowering fleet and army into the exhausted country. After a great loss of men before Missolonghi, the Turkish and Egyptian Pashas had the gloomy satisfaction of seeing a part of the Greek garrison cut their way through the camp, leaving the gates of the town open, while the remainder blew themselves up within the city. Ibrahim returned to the Morea, to carry on, not war but devastation, holding the plains in force, and driving the inhabitants with his cavalry to the mountains and then burning the villages.

At this period Russia had views against Turkey, and the private loans in London had given indication that assistance might be afforded to the Greeks, which would put to shame the indifference of European states. In reply to a note from Russia, Mr. Canning proposed a special treaty, and the Duke of Wellington offered to go to St. Petersburg to negotiate it. He went accordingly, and the first protocol bore date April 4, 1826. France soon joined this alliance, and a treaty which at first contemplated only the purchase of the Morea by indemnities (such is the ignorance or recklessness of great statesmen) terminated in the establishment of a kingdom, called the kingdom of Hellas, the northern frontier of which was ultimately drawn from the gulph of Arta to that of Volo, while its eastern limits embrace all the Cyclades except Candia. It is not very surprizing that the Turks, whose history had taught them what ropes of sand were the unions of European powers against the Infidel, should have remained long unconvinced of the sincerity and earnestness of the alliance between Russia, France and England. The forms at that time observed by the ambassadors and their dragomen at Constantinople did not perhaps admit of positive language, but the cannon of Navarino, in October 1827, made the intention of the three Powers unmistakeably clear; and though the vacillations of a British Cabinet thought fit to designate this righteous and most necessary act as "an untoward event," the Sultan no longer doubted that peace must be made. The treaties between the Greek national assembly, the three allied Powers and the Sultan resulted in the nomination of Capo d'Istria as President of Greece. The crown was subsequently offered to Prince Leopold; but the intrigues of Capo d'Istria, the apathy of the English ministers, Lord Aberdeen and the Duke of Wellington, with the narrow limits of the northern frontier (at that time offered) caused the Prince to withdraw in the evening the note of acceptance which he had written in the morning. Had the letter of the wily President which influenced his final determination been lost or even delayed for a single day, Leopold would have been on the throne of Greece, and different indeed would have been her history from that which we have now to recount!

It is a general error to suppose that constitutional govern-

ment is a novelty in Greece. When Capo d'Istria landed from a British man-of-war, supported by French troops, Greece had been governed for some years by national assemblies, under the constitution of Epidaurus; and his office and function was that of President of the National Assembly of Argos, then (in August 1831) sitting under the title of the Fourth National Assembly. The foundations of constitutional government had been laid in 1822, and its principles were generally understood; but this Assembly passed decrees declaring ministers responsible, fixing a budget, establishing a bank, a coinage, an orphan asylum, etc., and confirmed the civil and military law enacted in 1824, detailed in about forty-five chapters.

Capo d'Istria supported the difficulties of his situation with great energy, and had made considerable progress in internal government, when his treatment of the Assembly at Argos, and his conduct towards individuals (especially to the Hydriotes and the brave Miaulis) led many to think that he was gradually undermining the liberties of Greece, and had designs for either making himself absolute, or placing his country in a state of dependence upon Russia. The offended family of the Spartan chieftain Mavromichali, with other Mainotes, held upon him a species of *Geheime Gericht*, such as the customs of Maina and the state of Greece seemed to them to warrant. The sentence of this unauthorized tribunal was death, and it was carried into execution by what *we* must pronounce to be a murder, whatever guise of patriotism or justice it might assume in the eyes of persons born under other laws and educated in another school of religion and morals. The difficulties of the Allied Powers were augmented by the President's death, and discord followed under Capo d'Istria's brother, whose intellect and principles alike rendered him unfit to rule over a free constitutional people.

In May, 1832, Otho, the second son of the King of Bavaria, was selected and accepted as sovereign. Three conditions only were annexed, viz. that a Regency should govern for three years,—that sixty millions of francs should be advanced to Greece, twenty millions being guaranteed by each of the Allied Powers,—and that the King of Bavaria should lend 4500 troops. But, though no distinct promise of a constitution was

exacted by the treaty, still it was decidedly understood by every Greek that the King was to govern under a constitution, as the President had done; it was a thing taken for granted, not needing positive stipulation. How, indeed, could it be otherwise with a people who had for ten years been living under a constitution? Moreover, it was no time for bargaining: the Greeks were starving, civil war was raging, communication with the great Powers was slow, and their statesmen fully engaged. Some had no will, others no time, to exact better terms; and those who know the conduct of French, Russian and *English* ministers then at Napoli, will not wonder, however they may regret, that the *formal* promise of a constitution was not pressed by the friends of Greece. Otho then became King of Greece,—Βασιλεὺς τῆς Ἑλλάδος,—the succession being limited to his descendants; and, in default of issue, to his next brother; with a further limitation to his second brother, and a proviso that the crowns of Bavaria and Greece should never be united on the same head.

In February, 1833, the youthful monarch landed at Nauplia from his Britannic Majesty's ship Madagascar, Captain Lyons, accompanied by his Regency, Count Armandsparg, General Heideck and Mr. Maurer, with Mr. Abel their secretary. He was received with enthusiasm, having shown his confidence in his new subjects—thanks to the advice of Captain (now Sir Edmund) Lyons, and Minister at Athens—in landing by torch-light, as soon as the ship cast anchor at Nauplia. It was understood that he was come so young to naturalize himself among them, and the simple habits of the Greeks led them to suppose that the two and a half years, during which he was to be exempt from the cares of royalty, would be devoted to making himself acquainted with the country, the people and the language, with a view to his future duties. His youthful appearance and gentle address created a favourable impression, and it was given out that he had been carefully educated. The sequel, however, showed that Otho's training had been such as to fit him only for that to which he had been originally destined,—the future honour of a cardinal's hat. So far from mixing with the Greeks (except his language-master), he was carefully preserved from any vulgar contact with his people. During the few tours he

made he was surrounded by Bavarians, incapable or unwilling to awaken in his mind any taste for nature (as displayed in Greece) for historical recollections or classical remains. Instead of the principles of limited monarchy which Socrates taught, he was told that, from the moment he set his foot on the Greek soil, his will was absolute law, over every man and thing in the country. In a very few months the jealousy of the two regents, Maurer and Heideck, closed the drawing-room of Countess Armansperg (where the refined of all nations met at Nauplia) against the young King, and he thenceforth lived only with his official staff and the people placed about him, acquiring the habits of royalty without the knowledge or feelings necessary for a Greek King of Greece.

The Regency was accompanied by the two great diplomatic sedatives,—troops and money; twenty millions of francs had been advanced as the first series of the loan, and the King of Bavaria, as agreed, had sent 4500 regular troops. The remains of the Greek army (between 2000 and 3000 palikars) were ordered to disperse without pay, and without even money to take them to their desolate homes; but the chiefs had been turbulent, and this summary disbanding, though a cruel way of getting out of a difficulty, was certainly the easiest. It had too the merit of impressing the minds of the Greeks with an idea of the *vigour* of the Regency. The men and non-commissioned officers who were in service before 1831 were allowed to enter the new regiments, to be officered partly by Greeks and partly by Germans.

The first royal ordinance is dated February 28, 1833, in which, in a long and somewhat bombastic address, the Regents tell the Greeks in the name of their sovereign, “that all political disputes are to be thrown into oblivion, and that it is “for them to maintain peace and order, and thus for each to “bring peace to his own home.” The names of many distinguished Greeks appeared in high offices, but there were also those of many undistinguished, except by their knowledge of French or German or their skill in the arts of intrigue. The Regency, however, proceeded diligently in their work of organization; ordinance followed ordinance in rapid succession,—everything was attempted, nothing left untouched, and the whole Bavarian system of vigorous paper-government was soon

in force. From schemes of ecclesiastical policy and systems of national education, down to the patterns of embroidery for military and civil uniforms, all enjoyed the paternal attention of the Government and figured in the official columns of the Gazette with due solemnity of signed and countersigned decrees.

Herr von Maurer with Abel applied himself to the criminal code; Count Armansperg organized his finance, or rather system of taxation; and General Heideck, having his army ready formed and a scale of pay and rank soon arranged for the new corps, turned his mind to some active operations, for the purpose of proving the utility of his troops and inspiring the Greeks with a due respect for their prowess. The criminal code, which contains trial by jury, does much honour to the esteemed jurist by whom it was compiled, and, having outlived the inconveniences of a new system, may be considered upon the whole as a permanent benefit to the nation. It was perhaps too abstract in its provisions and too abruptly introduced; in general, however, little attention was paid to the local and temporary applicability of any measure, and in prescribing remedies the diagnosis of the patient was scarcely studied by the state physicians. Count Armansperg took upon himself the chief management of foreign intrigue (though why there should have been any it seems difficult to understand, unless it were for the purpose of sending the loan through Bavaria and converting much of it by the way into army accoutrements and fresh-coined dollars) and of taxation. This last required, as it seemed, no effort of inventive genius. The system adopted had at least the merit of simplicity; it consisted of a duty of ten per cent. on all foreign goods landed, a most mischievous transit duty, a capitation tax on sheep and cattle, a tithe of all the products of the earth, taken in kind at harvest, a tax on timber when cut, and a claim of pasturage dues over all open and uncultivated lands; this last gave especial offence, being, like the tithe, a tax of very injurious tendency and of Turkish origin.

Meantime General Heideck, intent, as we have said, on some great military exploit, determined on an expedition by sea and land to Maina, in order to compel the Mainote chiefs to pull down their towers (*πύργοι*), which the Government affected

to consider as castles, while their owners regarded them only as private houses. They were in fact their ancient fortified residences, and resembled the most simple of our Scotch border towers, or those erected by the English in the south-west of Ireland in the time of Raleigh and Spenser. Heideck's real object however was to humble the proud Mainotes, who scarcely brooked submission to the general government, and to acquire honour for the German troops. The result was a complete defeat, considerable loss, and the disgrace of actually buying the release of a part of the force, which, not having been able to escape by sea, had been blockaded in the wild valleys of Maina.

A very short time had elapsed after the return of General Heideck when discontents and frequent quarrels broke out between the Regents, and, the flame being rapidly fanned by male and female intrigue, the result was an irreconcilable rupture and the recall of Heideck, Maurer and Abel, with the nomination of Armanberg to the post of sole Regent*. This occurred in July 1834, not quite a year and a half from the arrival of the regency at Nauplia, and one year before the King's majority.

The Government of Count Armanberg was in no essential respect different from that of the Regency, except perhaps in its extreme langour and inertness; there was the same meddling with details, the same complication of departmental machinery, the same official routine; everything ascending to and again descending from the head, through a legion of

* In the third of the three heavy volumes which Herr von Mauer published soon after his return, he has recorded most of the acts of the Regency; among which were the division of Greece into ten Nomoi, and each Nomos into a number of Eparchies, so as to form on the whole forty-seven: each Nomos was governed by a Nomarch, each Eparchia by an Eparch. The arrangement of ministerial offices was on the plan of Bavaria, as for instance, the Minister of the interior had an office formed of four councillors (one being medical), four secretaries, two kanzellists, and a messenger, and so with the others; then came a system of German Gemeinden, which was not dissimilar to the Greek Demoi, i. e. a communal or parochial system with self-government, and common property; next the establishment of the independence of the Greek Church, its separation from Constantinople, and government by a synod and five bishops, with a royal procurator. This important measure, which was much aided by M. Tricoupi, was agreed to by twenty-two bishops. An act for the reduction of nunneries to three, and the dissolution of monasteries, with the exception of Megaspelion and a few others of minor importance, was passed. There was also a law for the organization of municipal corporations, which resembled the communal law of France; and a complete law of public instruction, with minister, directors, normal schools, etc., exactly on the German plan, and much more extensive than Capo d'Istria's school system.

subordinate functionaries,—piles of paper—a mighty show of business,—nothing really done. It has been said indeed with much severity, though we fear with as much truth, that in the whole period from the arrival of the Regency to the coming of age of the King, “scarcely a single national measure had been carried into execution; one half of the public laws never having been enforced, and of the other half great part discovered to be injurious and impracticable: a charlatanerie of the most costly and audacious kind had been carried on, at the expense of the Greeks; the material benefit of the country seemed to have engaged no serious attention, while the spirit of intrigue had been augmented ten-fold*.” One partial exception may be made in favour of national education: most towns had their schools, and a good though somewhat too complicated system was formed.

On the majority of the King, a council of state was nominated, which was well chosen; a law was prepared for the distribution of national lands, a phalanx was created for the purpose of affording rank and pay to old officers, and the establishment of a bank was projected. But the law of dotation of lands, as it is called, had no result, as few could accept the terms offered, and the bank was not established until 1841.

At length, when King Otho was returning from a year's absence, Count Armandsparg, pressed by the nation and the British Cabinet, which had granted another instalment of the loan, produced his law of provincial councils; the members of this council were to be freely elected, and possess reasonable powers of local government. Moreover it was understood to be a measure preparatory to constitutional chambers of legislation. This however was his last, as it was his best act, for immediately on his arrival the King dismissed the arch-chancellor, and appointed in his stead a M. Rudhart whom he had brought from Bavaria for that purpose. This gentleman, who had been instructed to take a strong part against the British minister and liberal politics, remained in power less than a year, and signalized himself by passing one of the most infamous laws against the press ever invented. Upon his resignation, in 1838, the nominal ministry of Zographos and the real administration of the Camarilla was established,—an irre-

* Finlay.

sponsible council of private favourites, chiefly Bavarian underlings of the palace, whom the King assembled as his advisers, and to whom the preparation of measures was intrusted; the legitimate functions of the Council of State being entirely superseded. But this, though bad enough, was not the worst. Even before this period the corps of light-armed troops on the Turkish frontier (*Οροφύλακοι*) had been encouraged in taking most atrocious measures for the discovery of marauders. One officer, to whom distinct charges of torture (in some cases applied to women) had been brought home, had been let off with the remark that he was "somewhat too zealous*". Unjust imprisonment of Ionians for vague police charges (which had in one case even produced death) had been again and again complained of by the Lord High Commissioner, Sir H. Douglas; yet nothing short of strong threats of non-intercourse could obtain even the removal of the guilty parties from their posts. Now, however, under the government of Zographos it appeared to have become a settled maxim of Government that public officers must be supported, let them do what they would. It is not therefore surprising that, during the three years from 1838 in which Zographos and the Camarilla were in power, the acts of Government functionaries became more and more tyrannical and unrestrained by those principles which prevail in every European country.

The unjust system of collecting tithes, by which the buyers actually obtained a seventh or a sixth instead of a tenth,—the severe conscription in a weak population, where the assistance of every youthful member of a family was important,—and the courts-martial and courts held under special commission in the provinces to keep the population in check, had caused discontent, partial tumults, refusals to pay taxes, and consequent acts of *brigandage*, principally in Messenia. The remedies applied were of a nature to call forth the earnest remonstrances of the British Government,—remonstrances which, we believe, were strongly supported by the two other protecting Powers, as soon as the facts were made known to them. The acts imputed were, in fact, not less atrocious than poisoning the bread which was to be given to those accused of *brigandage*, and seizure and deportation of whole families from parts of

* From a high quarter.

the Morea to northern Greece, accompanied with harrowing circumstances of cruelty and deprivation*.

Perpetual assaults were made on the press, through the tribunals, and despotism in its worst form seemed to be settling on the country. The great complaint of all, however, was that no business of any kind could proceed; intrigues and bribery were necessary to force on the most simple affairs of routine; and, down to a schoolmaster's license, every paper was to pass under the personal cognizance of the King and to receive the royal signature†. In 1841 affairs had become so desperate, and the general discontent so apparent, that King Otho called Mavrocordato, as the head of the liberal party, to his aid.

Since the year after the King's arrival, this patriotic statesman had been in honourable exile, either at Munich or London, as minister to those courts. He now most reluctantly took office, on distinct conditions, among which were the abolition of the Camarilla, the dismissal of all Bavarian officers, the independence of the synod, the publication of a budget, and the enlargement of the powers of the Council of State; in fact, such measures as would bring back the country to a state out of which a constitution would naturally spring, and which would obviously tend to that result. But not six weeks

* Some hundreds were actually deported without trial, or law to that effect: the defence made as to the poisoning was that the bread was drugged with soporifics only strong enough to put the brigands to sleep, when they could be easily seized: whether the men called brigands for refusing to pay oppressive taxes, unjustly levied on them by the tithe-farmers, proved too cunning to be caught, we know not, but the defence made admitted the fact.

† An anecdote, current in Athens at the period to which we allude, may serve to illustrate the ordinary march of Bavarian administration. On the arrival of the machinery for a steamer just built at Poros, the captain, who had also brought out some coals, applied to know if they would be purchased by the naval arsenal; the proposition was forwarded to the minister of marine, then a Bavarian cavalry officer, and by him laid before the King: no answer being obtained, after a reasonable delay the captain sailed with his coals, discharged them at Constantinople, afterwards took in a cargo of wheat at Odessa, touched at Barcelona on his way home, and arrived in due time in the port of Liverpool. Here, whilst landing his cargo of grain, he received through the English Consul a large letter with an official seal, which proved to be a reply from the Greek Government accepting his offer of the coals. A more important instance of reckless procrastination is that of the bridge of Chalcis, by which hundreds of small craft are forced round the island and many consequently wrecked in winter, and the trade from Salonica to Athens seriously interrupted. The town-council and speculators offered to make a drawbridge (receiving toll for a stated time), Government engineers reported favourably upon the scheme, the sovereign himself visited the spot and approved it,—yet nothing has been done; profit, and even life, continues to be sacrificed in a case where private or local efforts would have cured the evil long since, if permitted.

had elapsed from his taking office, before Mavrocordato became practically convinced that he was unable to withstand the insidious influence exercised on the King, and that it was vain to attempt to carry out his views. Rather than yield dishonourably, he resigned, and retired to the Peiræus; he was subsequently sent as minister to Constantinople, but not before a suit had been instituted against him on an absurd fiction of law, which was only laid aside from fear of public opinion. French interference is said to have had much to do with the appointment of M. Christides, the next minister. In lieu of making conditions, this statesman was contented with boasting that he would very shortly restore the finances and smooth all difficulties, while he left the Camarilla wholly undisturbed. It was in vain that, during the succeeding year, the British minister reiterated his warnings as to the exhaustion of the treasury, and the necessity of providing for the loan by timely retrenchments; with such measures of good government as would lead to production and consequent increase of revenue. Nothing was done, save that a kind of juggling balance of accounts was produced, with a view of blinding the eyes of the Allied Powers, and a customs' law enacted by royal ordinance (like all others), but of such consummate folly and perplexity, that its only effect was to destroy a considerable part of the commerce of Syra, and to bring numerous cases before the courts. It is thus characterized in the parliamentary paper, '*Commercial Tariffs,—Greece,*'—presented to Parliament, July 14, 1843:—

"Commerce has greatly decreased at Syra during the past year, principally since the new law of customs has come into operation; and although the collector has received instructions not to insist on fines and penalties rigorously, yet, so deplorable have been the consequences of first impressions, that a great proportion of the coasting trade from and to Asia Minor and European Turkey has been lost, and having found other channels will not return to Syra."

In the same paper, under the title of '*Revenue and Taxation of Greece,*' it is added:—

"The taxation of Greece is certainly grievously borne by the people, and the whole fiscal system is badly arranged and worse managed. For so small a population, the government is upon too great and too expensive a scale, and the outlay on palaces and public edifices not easily justifiable. The Greek loan, and the excess of payments over income, has increased the debt to nearly seven millions sterling. If Candia had been

annexed to Greece on the Revolution, and if a strong, intelligent and strictly just administration had been established, the natural capabilities of Greece and Candia, and the energy of the people would have, during the last ten years, rendered both countries rich and independent. Agriculture, commerce and revenue would naturally have flourished."

Matters therefore were fast hastening to a crisis; remonstrances and warnings, sent both by France and England, had been treated with cool inattention, but Russia now began to stir. Instructions proceeding from St. Petersburg were never lightly regarded at Athens, and here was an especial instance of the fear which Count Nesselrode inspired; for in the spring of 1843, the Court of Russia, made aware of the approaching bankruptcy of Greece, addressed to her Minister at Athens a dispatch of great severity, which he was directed to press on the Greek Government and Court. This dispatch was immediately published by the Russian embassy or party, and produced a great sensation in the country. Soon afterwards the three Allied Powers conjointly insisted on the payment of the interest, and a portion of the principal, of the loan then due, and upon an immediate reduction of the expenditure. It was therefore imperative that something should be done, or seem to be done, and the expedient hit upon was worthy of the government of Otho. A University had been raised, chiefly by the subscriptions of foreign Greeks*, but

* The foundation-stone of the University was laid by the King in July 1839, and so far completed that the lectures were delivered in it in 1841: it is a handsome building, with an Ionic portico of Pentelic marble, and polichromy has been successfully introduced upon its walls.

The establishment consists of four faculties, viz. theology, medicine, law, and the arts and sciences; including philosophy, philology, mathematics, chemistry, astronomy, statistics and history. Each faculty has a head, called the Dean (*σχολαρχης*), and these, with the Rector of the University, form the legislative assembly for all the concerns of internal arrangement and discipline. The Rector is the executive power.

The course of studies is fixed at five years; viz. three for general studies, and two for the particular faculty which the student may choose to select.

In 1844 the number of students was 90; besides hearers, 110.

The total number of professors was 31, of whom 7 are honorary.

The library consists of about 2500 volumes only; principally contributed by foreign friends of Greece; and there is no way in which the British public could more benefit the cause of education than by sending English books on general literature, useful knowledge, and the sciences, of which there is a great deficiency. The enlightened and indefatigable librarian, M. Tibaldo, has with admirable zeal obtained many gifts of this kind from Germany and Italy. England alone is behind-hand in liberality on the subject,—a matter the more to be regretted, as the cultivation of the English language is an object infinitely to be desired in every point of view. The University lost about six foreign professors by the decree of 1843, and as many of the rules were complicated, the general system discouraged students; a new scheme of studies for degrees was said to be in preparation, June 1844.

the professors of which were paid by the State, as were those of the Gymnasium and Polytechnic School. It was upon these establishments that the Government, with the peevish spite of a spoiled child, made the reductions fall, while its army of German officers and a thousand other useless and extravagant outgoings were retained. The Polytechnic School, perhaps the most useful institution in Greece, and which owed its being to the energy and perseverance of a German officer of the name of Zentner, was closed. The French and English professors of languages at the University and Gymnasium were withdrawn, and in all these cases the sufferers were expressly told that the fault lay with those in Paris and London, not at Athens. This, with the recall of the Greek ministers from foreign courts, made up the amount of retrenchment. In fact there was complete evidence before the Greeks, that the parasites who beset their sovereign had persuaded him that money could be begged or borrowed in Germany, that the claims of the Allies could be, in some unaccountable way postponed, that his honour was engaged in disregarding the objurgations of foreign Powers; that, as no budget had been honestly made up, nobody knew the real state of affairs; and finally that, *coute qui coute*, the Bavarian officers and officials must be retained, and the Camarilla and its dependents preserved.

The maxim, "quem Deus vult perdere," etc., was perhaps never more strikingly exemplified. On the verge of a precipice, which was visible to every eye, there was yet no attempt to stop: everything indicated a speedy, perhaps a violent change; yet the sycophants round the palace seemed as ignorant and reckless of the progress of things as the passengers in a balloon, who believe the earth to be sinking and themselves stationary. 'Wait and see,'—*Ἀῦριον!* (tomorrow) *Δεν πειράζει!* (no matter)—these phrases were at once the outward expression and the real character of their policy. Things had so long been going on from bad to worse, that it seemed to them there was no *worst*, and that if the resources of Greece were approaching to exhaustion, the patience of the Greeks was inexhaustible.

Thus passed the summer of 1843; but though the Government was blind, not so was the people. In Greece news has a power of expansion and penetration almost unknown in other countries, and when the matter touches personal rights

or interests, the action is of course much more rapid and intense. The agricultural taxes, the low price of corn consequent on bad trade, and the entire neglect of roads and other internal improvements, had made the peasant cultivators discontented; the custom-house law had disgusted the merchants; in the towns, the speculators in building had exhausted their capital and rents were falling, while money-lenders were pressing for their 12 or 15 per cent. The National Bank just set up with a million of drachmas from Government, besides sums paid in by shareholders, had given no relief*. No useful enterprizes had been encouraged, no bridges built, no ports opened, no land drained, nor any of the commonest requirements attended to; even in Athens not a single new sewer had been constructed during the rebuilding of the town, though the corporation had been allowed to levy immense sums annually, which they neither expended in the public works nor even condescended to account for. Palikars and others, who had claims pending from the time of the war, saw them still unsatisfied, though a third of Greece lay uncultivated and at the disposal of the Crown. Nothing had been done to the merchant navy, not even a steamer set up to run through the Cyclades.

All the advance which had been made in Greece had been in spite of the Government, not by its assistance; and the progressive increase of revenue only showed what the unaided industry and frugality of the hard-living peasantry had been able to effect, in extending cultivation and adding to their flocks, herds and labouring oxen. If any class of men deserved well of the state, it was the owners of the light craft which skimmed the *Ægean* and neighbouring seas, combining in their own persons the characters of shipowner, merchant

* The project of a bank and agricultural loan fund proposed to the Greek Government on the fairest terms through Messrs. Wright, did not fail on account of the bankruptcy of that house, as Mr. Strong asserts, but because the Government insisted on conditions which it knew could not be conceded; as, for example, the uncontrolled administration of the bank by a board of directors at Athens. The Government seemed indeed to have adopted a most pernicious principle, that, to govern easily, it was necessary to keep the people poor; and there were many foreigners settled in Greece, and even foreign ministers, who excited the natural jealousy against the rich English. Be this as it may, an opportunity for benefitting Greece in that which is most essential—the steady influx and gradual distribution of capital—was lost, it is to be feared, for ever.

and captain. These men had prospered, their vessels were becoming gradually larger and more numerous, yet at this very time a heavy tax was laid on timber cut from the forests of Greece, thus greatly augmenting the cost of ship-building, and even driving the builder to a foreign market for his material. The landed proprietors were in poverty and debt, for they had exhausted all their capital in purchases, receiving from the peasants one-third of the products in kind, after the tenth was paid to Government. Upon these too the obnoxious timber-tax fell heavily, thus furnishing a grievance for minds well prepared to receive it. The education and endowment of the priests had been wholly neglected, and their physical wants were very scantily supplied,—in the villages by the peasantry, and in the towns by the lower and middle classes and the produce of ceremonies. The bishops (with the few remaining monks who laboured on their own farms) were the only churchmen with fixed incomes, and, of these, few had anything to spare. Even the swarm of placemen, Germans and foreign Greeks in the capital and large towns were out of humour, for the general scale of living had risen above the scale of salaries, and the deficiency was to be made up by their wits. In fact there was scarcely an individual of any class in Greece, from the goatherd who paid tax for every goat (though the herd scarcely ever descended from the mountains of Selinus, Parnassus, Helicon or Hymettus), to the councillor of state (long a practically useless office), who did not feel that he was personally injured by the system of Government. Lower minds suggested that the exactions were less under the Turks, and the highest were maddened by the ever-present idea that it was not for such a state of things that Greeks had poured forth their blood like water, under their own free constitutions, from 1822 to 1833.

The progress of expenditure may be seen from the Tables of Mr. Strong's book, mentioned at the head of our article. The book itself contains the *Government case* in an irresponsible form, as made out by their own statistics, which they never condescended to publish for the Greek nation, but *benevolently* allowed the Hanoverian consul to copy. In return for his statistics we must give Mr. Strong the benefit of an extract from his preface:—

"He (the author) considers it, however, his duty thus publicly to express his deep sense of gratitude for the great facilities afforded him in the execution of his work by the condescension of his Majesty King Otho, who was graciously pleased to issue an order to all the public offices to assist him in the prosecution of his object, and allow him to inspect and make copies, notes, or extracts of whatever documents were to be found in the archives, which he considered of interest or useful for his purpose. The reader may therefore be assured that all the laws, ordonnances, tables, etc. in this work are taken from official sources.

"As a great many statements highly prejudicial to Greece have recently appeared, it is necessary to remark, that they have chiefly emanated either from persons not sufficiently acquainted with the country to be competent to form an opinion respecting it, or from mere tourists, ignorant of the language and seeing only with the eyes of others; and hence all such statements must be received with great caution. Facts are the best arguments; and every well-wisher of Greece will be anxious to investigate its present state, even though he should labour under an impression that such an investigation would prove inimical to the prospects of the infant kingdom.

"And the conclusion to which he has come is, on the whole, highly favourable to the young kingdom. So far from taking a gloomy view of the state of Greece, like many who believe her to be on the point of a general bankruptcy, it is his opinion that there are few European states in a more prosperous condition; and that the improvement in the revenue, the development of national wealth, the progress of education, the extension of agriculture and commerce, the increase of knowledge, the impartial administration of justice, and the reduction of expenditure, which have hitherto been so rapid, will be carried on in future to a much greater extent even than hitherto, and give Greece, in a few years, an important and conspicuous rank in the scale of nations.

"The author deems it right to inform the public, that he disclaims in the most unqualified manner any inference that may be drawn from his official situation, of his having been actuated by interested motives in publishing this work. His object is simply to give a faithful account of the present state of Greece; and the post that he holds at Athens being purely honorary, he is alike independent of Greek and Bavarian influence."

Nothing, it is said, can lie like facts. Mr. Strong seems to have thought that, in ingenuously copying out what was presented to him,—paper facts,—he was no longer responsible. We are greatly obliged to him for a series of statistics drawn from the reports and endless papers of the Government offices in every department, one of the few advantages derived from the swarm of employés set to work during the first years of the Bavarian Government, and of the German system of detail afterwards. These statistics, *where they have not been prepared to bring out a predetermined result*, are really valuable,

and have never before been collected. We must however, in justice to our readers, declare that Mr. Strong's modesty seems to have precluded him from seeing with his own eyes and judging with his own intellect, or he never could have written the sentences quoted from the preface. Unless his consular reports are of a very different nature, King Ernest will have as true an idea of Greece as the audience of mesmeric investigators have of the contents of a paper box, when described by Alexis, or as the speculators of 1825 had of the mines in the Andes. For instance, this gentleman, who is of opinion that there are few European states in a more prosperous condition, and whose object it is to give a faithful account, states (page 34), that a royal ordinance of August 1833 ordered the following *lines of road* to be made at the expense of the Government:—
 “1. From Patras to Gythion through Mistra (Sparta); 2. “Navarino to Corinth through Megalopolis and Tripolitza.” Then follows a paragraph in these words:—“Besides these, “others of shorter distance have been constructed to facilitate the increasing commercial intercourse; such are the “roads from Nauplia to Argos, Athens to the Peiræus.” In consular correctness of language, “besides these” must mean that the first great lines are in existence,—executed “as per order,”—for every one knows there is a road from Athens to the Peiræus; whereas no such lines of road as “from Patras to Gythion” or “from Navarino to Corinth” (and so of the rest, with a trifling exception) exist, except in German surveys and consular statistics. Again, the consul, whose sole object it is to make known “the real state of this most interesting country,” must have been well aware that the road from Nauplia to Argos was made by Count Capo d'Istria, long before King Otho came to Greece.

This may serve as a sample of the reliance to be placed on Mr. Strong's authority; but there are other and graver inaccuracies than this. The poor Greeks were always naturally most sensitive as to the sums believed to be lavished on the King's German officers and soldiers; and, some years before the events which we are now recording, public indignation had compelled the dismissal of a large part of the Bavarian force. But it was important, while this bleeding artery of profusion remained open, to hoodwink the patient; and

accordingly the Government table, as copied by Mr. Strong, gives for the year 1835 the total expenditure in the war department as 6,554,563 drachmas, whilst the report of the minister of war for the same year gives the expenditure for the army at 20,087,978 drachmas. We must leave Mr. Strong to reconcile these *little differences*. General Smaltz probably knew best what his department cost, and, abstracting (we know not why) expenses paid in Bavaria for Greek account, he reduces the sum to 14,667,421,—just a million above the whole revenue of the country, which in that year was 13,635,930, and seven-ninths of the whole expenditure, 18,699,580. The real expenditure on this branch, adding the amount deducted *, was one million and a half *more* than the sum put down as the whole outgoing of the country. Such are Greek public accounts !

But to return from the consular tables to our narrative. It seems at this juncture to have suited the policy of Russia to fan the general discontent arising from the financial condition of the country and the despair of any real or substantial reform. It is probable that the astute statesmen of that ambitious Power imagined that they could direct the coming storm, or, out of the wreck which it might occasion, build up a new dynasty and an ecclesiastical polity which would connect Greece in an indissoluble bond with her imperial protectress. Certain it is that there was no indisposition on her part to a change which was every hour becoming more and more imminent.

In the beginning of August 1843 the whole country was ripe for a movement, though its time and objects were not at first clearly defined. At length, however, the first days of September became fixed in every town for the outbreak. The old chiefs were on the alert ; Griziotis, one of them, had raised nearly a thousand men in Eubœa ; at Missolonghi, Patras, Nauplia, all was silently prepared. The Russian party thought it advisable to let the army into the secret, many of the heads of it being, as was supposed, devoted to them. About ten days before the outbreak the King was warned ; but in the

* This is—Recruiting in Bavaria..... 2,796,424 drachmas.
 Expense of Bavarian auxiliary corps... 4,624,133 ,,
 (28 drachmas = £1 English.) 7,420,557 ,,

council of ministers, held in consequence, the danger was laughed at, and nothing was done except to issue orders for the arrest of a few individuals. That evening, after dusk, his Majesty was watched on his return to the palace from the council. It was revealed that the news of a plot had reached the palace, and that arrests had been ordered. One of those threatened with arrest declared his determination to make a bloody resistance, and proposed a general measure of the same character: but this proposition was promptly rejected by Kalergis; and the proposer was instantly commanded not to leave the house, the sentinel posted at the doors having positive orders to fire on him if he attempted to force his way out. Kalergis, who happened to be the senior officer at Athens, and to command the garrison at this time, was the *enfant de la maison* at the Russian minister's, whose house was open to all who were disposed to join the liberal, the discontented, or the Russian party. The history of this man (destined to play a conspicuous part in Athens) is romantic. By birth a Cretan, he with his brother had taken arms during the *Άγωνα*, and was present at the battle of Athens in 1827, being then a youth of sixteen or seventeen. He had the fortune to be wounded and cut down, and was taken with other prisoners to the Pasha's quarters; here he found means to communicate with a Turk of his acquaintance, and to offer a ransom. Youth, wounds and fatigue gave Kalergis the appearance of no very dangerous enemy, and when (as he was borne along amidst the prisoners, immediately about to be put to death), his life was asked by the Turk, whose avarice or compassion he had excited, the Pasha made a present of him to the suitor. A portion of the ransom-money was found, a part was secured on the word of the generous Captain Hamilton, and Kalergis returned to Crete. On the arrival of the King, he entered the new Greek army as a cavalry officer, and gradually rose to his present rank. A very few years since he visited Paris and London, and had consequently acquired a more general knowledge of the world than belongs to most Greeks of his class. He was however regarded rather as a gay young officer, fond of society and amusement, than in any other light.

On the night of the 15th of September Colonel Kalergis and many other suspected parties were at the theatre; on leaving which, it is believed, he called at the Russian embassy, where

there was always a reception after the opera, and from thence proceeded to the head-quarters of the cavalry. At this time from 200 to 300 persons were assembled at the house and garden of Macrijanni (a well-known Palikar chief), near the temple of Jupiter Olympius; when suddenly, about midnight, a small party of gendarmes, unacquainted with the plot, but ordered to watch Macrijanni, presented themselves before the house. At the same moment shouts were raised through the whole town, and a stentorian voice was heard calling on the citizens from the walls of the Acropolis, "Greeks, save your country!" Spiro Milio had by this time explained the affair to the infantry at their barracks, and invited them to preserve the town from disorder, by joining the citizens. Officers and men swore mutual fidelity, without one dissentient voice. The same thing occurred at the cavalry barracks, where officers and soldiers immediately conformed to the wishes expressed by their colonel Kalergis. Meanwhile the citizens were gradually assembling, and, together with the old Palikar soldiers (armed with their long-barrelled toupikis), marched upon the palace. Costas and a party of the insurgents, attempting to force their way past the gendarmes into Macrijanni's house, a sergeant was unfortunately shot in the scuffle; but further bloodshed was instantly stopped by Macrijanni himself, who, rushing from his door, called on all to remember they were "brethren" (*Ἀδελφοὶ τί κάμνετε;*), and the whole party within and without, guards and guarded, as soon as the state of the case was explained, hurried away to the palace.

In the square before it were now assembled, with colours flying and bands playing, a squadron of cavalry, under Kalergis, a battalion of infantry under Tzavelli, and a company of light troops in their fustinellas. Shouts of "Long live the National Assembly!" "Long live the Constitution!" (*ζητῶ τὸ Σύνταγμα*) resounded among the crowds, who were gradually approaching from all sides. The palace-guards had been doubled, and some officers had passed the night there. Gardikiotes Grivas and Vlacoupolos (minister of war), came out and ordered the troops to retire; they were arrested and sent to the barracks. The King then appeared at a lower window, with his chamberlain Hesse, and himself demanded the cause of the tumult. Kalergis replied, "The people and the army, Sire, demand a Constitution." His Majesty required time for consideration,

and that the people and troops should retire. "It is impossible," said Kalergis, "till your Majesty has seen the Council of State." A message was then sent from the palace for the artillery, but Captain Schinas, the officer commanding, refused to take orders from any but his immediate superior officer, Colonel Kalergis. The expected order very soon reached him, and about two o'clock the brigade of guns arrived at a gallop, and were posted before the front and side doors of the palace. About the same time General Church, a councillor of state (and well known as almost more Greek in feeling than even the Greeks themselves) was seen among the crowd of military and civilians, walking before the windows of the palace. His chivalrous nature scorned to escape from responsibility till it became safe; and though, not being on active service, he gave no orders to the troops, he is believed to have been the first to call together the Council of State, of which he was a member. Londos, Zographos and Metaxa also appeared among the people, and these four proceeded to the hall of the Council of State, where they were soon joined by their colleagues. Kalergis had in the mean time declared he would act only under the orders of the Council of State. Tzavelli, commandant of the infantry, had put himself under the orders of Kalergis; while Macrijanni, Costas, the two Stratos, Skylodemos and other chiefs assumed a sort of command among the Palikaria, the light troops, the peasantry and citizens. The immense multitude were perfectly still and evinced no signs of impatience; zetos and patriotic songs alone broke the silence: but the palace meanwhile was strictly blockaded.

After a short discussion the Council of State drew up their first act, by which it took upon itself the responsibility of the movement. The people, eager to see the only existing legislative body sanction their proceedings, were satisfied. Londos, councillor of state, then appeared before the palace, and read aloud as follows:—

"The Council of State, in an extraordinary assembly, at 4 A.M., thinks it right on this great occasion, before entering on any other business, unanimously to address, in the name of the country, thanks to the people, to the garrison, and to the other corps of the army, for the admirable conduct they have shown during these trying events, acting on the one hand with patriotism, for the good of the country, and on the other preserving perfect order and tranquillity.

"The Council of State especially declares, as to the army, that the share

taken by it in this national movement was dictated by the sentiment of necessity and the interests of the country,—a sentiment quite conformable to honour, duty, and the laws prescribed by the national assemblies. The troops have recollected that the soldier of a free country is first a citizen before he is a soldier. The Council of State hopes for the same conduct and the same spirit of order for the future, until the fate of the country be guaranteed by the framing and passing of befitting laws; for this object the Council decrees that the entire army take the following oath:—

“I take the oath of fidelity to the country and to the constitutional throne. I swear that I will remain invariably attached to the constitutional institutions framed by the National Assembly, convoked in consequence of the measures adopted this day.”

“The Council of State, moreover, declares that the 3rd of September promising a glorious prospect to Greece, it has thought proper to class it among the national festivities.

“Athens, 3rd (15th) September, 1843.”

It is difficult to give an idea of the enthusiastic expression of feeling which followed the reading of this act; during the recital of the oath the whole population raised their hands to heaven spontaneously, and Londos was lifted up in the arms of the citizens, and borne in triumph back to the Council chamber. There the deliberations were continued, and an address to the King was drawn up, on the proposal of Messrs. Metaxa, Londos and Rhigas Palamidis, and signed unanimously*. A commission, consisting of Messrs. Condouriotis (president of the Council), Mavromichalis (the famous Pietro Bey of Maina), Ainian, Psyllas, A. Londos and Privelegios, was appointed to carry this address to the King, and one hour was allowed them to return with his Majesty's reply.

After a short conference with King Otho, the Commission, at his request, demanded of Kalergis if he would permit the

* The address was as follows:—

“Sire,—The Council of State, concurring completely in the wishes of the Greek people, and accepting the extraordinary power which the irresistible force of things compels it to assume for the consolidation of the throne and for the salvation of the country, hastens respectfully to submit to your Majesty the following measures, which it trusts will be immediately and fully approved.

“Your Majesty will consider it expedient to appoint a new ministry without delay. The Council of State recommends to the approbation of your Majesty, as persons competent to form it, because of their enjoying public esteem and confidence, Messrs. André Metaxa for the Presidency of the Council of Ministers, with the department of Foreign Affairs; André Londos, for the Ministry of war; Canaris, for the Navy department; Rhigas Palamidis, for the Interior; Mansolas, for the Finance; Leon Melas, for Justice; and Michel Schinas, for Public Instruction and Ecclesiastical Affairs.

“Your Majesty will be pleased, at the same time, to sign an ordinance, which

representatives of the Allied Powers to enter the palace. At this demand considerable tumult arose, and Kalergis gave an answer in the negative, with which the Commission returned to the King. The foreign ministers, however, themselves came to the palace (at the suggestion of M. Catakasi, the Russian minister), and demanded admittance. But Kalergis replied "that this was wholly a Greek affair between King and people, and that until his Majesty had terminated his consultations with his Council of State, the foreign ministers could by no means be permitted to enter the palace." The ministers of England, France and Russia made no reply, but those of Prussia and Belgium burst out into violent protestations, especially the former, a M. Brassier de St. Simon, to whom the Greek commander said, "As for you, Sir, you have but too often entered the palace, and it is to the counsels of yourself and such as you that his Majesty owes his difficulties." The ministers waited till the King had consented to the propositions contained in the address borne by the commission of the Council, and then entered. The people and soldiery, who had shown some impatience at the delay of the Commission, received them as they issued from the palace with unbounded joy, for they at once announced, "that King Otho had consented to the dismissal of the ministry and foreigners in the Greek service, the appointment of a new ministry, and the immediate convocation of a National Assembly for the purpose of drawing up a Constitution."

will impose on the new Ministry, as its first duty, the convocation of the National Assembly, within one month, which will deliberate upon the definitive Constitution that is to be established in concert with the royal authority, as the ægis under which the throne and the nation shall hereafter be placed.

"CONDURRIOTIS, President.

"MAVROMICHALIS, Vice-President.

"Panotzos Notaras.	N. G. Theocharis.
R. Church.	C. C. G. Praides.
A. Metaxa.	Righas Palamidis.
A. Monarchidis.	Drosos Mansolas.
B. N. Boudouris.	Silivergos.
A. Lidorikis.	A. Polyzoides.
T. Manghini.	Anastasius Londos.
G. Ainian.	S. Theocaropoulos.
N. Zacharitzza.	G. Psylas.
N. Rhenieri.	G. Spaniolakis.
C. Caradja.	C. Zographos.
A. P. Mavromichali.	A. Londos.
P. Soutzo.	C. D. Schinas.
Paicos.	S. Tricoupis."

When morning dawned upon Athens law and government and order reigned, as if there had been no interruption for a moment; yet how great a change had been wrought! During all the excitement of this most stirring scene not a window or a garden-pale had been broken,—not a flower gathered in the royal pleasure-ground. The crowd seemed only met to celebrate some feast-day, and foreign ladies actually walked without fear between them and the palace, as spectators of the scene. But while outside the palace the red caps flung into the air, the zetos, the music, the singing and the joyous looks, denoted universal harmony and gladness: the scene within had been very different. The foreign ministers, however, when admitted, found their Majesties re-assured; the order which had been seen to prevail had not been without its effect upon the King; and the Queen's heart was deeply touched, when she perceived that not the smallest injury had been done or attempted either to the palace or garden, and that not even a word or shout of insult was uttered which could wound the feelings of herself or her royal consort. The King, it is said, spoke much and at intervals, detailing to the foreign ministers what had occurred. From the British and French ministers he received encouragement, but the Russian was ominously silent. It was already evident that a Constitution had formed no part of the Russian scheme, and that the game had been overplayed*.

In the meantime, while the bishops were sent for to administer the oath, violent discussions were going on in the

* Kalergis was that very evening bowed out of the Russian embassy. But the astute minister was soon after destined to pay for the ill-success of Russian schemes, by being suddenly deported in a special steamer,—an episode of the third of September, accurately and wittily described in a January number of the Examiner, under the head of 'The Rape of Catakazi.' The following passage occurs in the address of Kalergis to the Greeks immediately after the King had sworn to the Constitution:—

"The causes which have separated the throne from the Greek nation have been removed. Foreigners no longer surround his Majesty the King; and those who will be fully empowered by the nation are assembling; our wishes and prayers have been accomplished. Nothing more is needed, that we may enjoy our common peace and good order, but to persuade the most unbelieving of our enemies that our contest has been alone excited by honourable desires for the welfare of this State. Encircle with your love the constitutional throne which we all have established with one universal will and voice. Behold and regard it as the palladium of your liberties, and, despising the course taken by the late and now fallen ministry, receive it at the hands of our beloved Sovereign, whom we henceforth shall honour with the name of Sebastos (Augustus)."

Council; and the Russian party in it having a slight majority, and being apparently bent on forcing the King to abdicate, proposed and obtained a vote that the King should be required to thank the troops, and to promise a medal to be given to every one who had aided or been present during the transactions of this day. A deputation again presented itself with this hard and unreasonable demand, and were admitted into the King's presence, while the foreign ministers were with him; a quarter of an hour was allowed his Majesty for deliberation, and it was represented to him that the troops insisted on the condition exacted, though, as it afterwards appeared, neither Kalergis nor the soldiers knew anything of the matter. Otho hesitated: the Queen, in an adjoining apartment, is supposed to have pressed him with all the earnestness of affection, while the English and French ministers urged, that *they* had no means of preventing the ingress of the multitude, and that, the important part of the question being already disposed of, it was little worth while to expose himself to insult and endanger many lives for a comparative trifle.

The King yielded to these arguments at the very last moment, saying with much feeling, "that though as a man he felt the indignity and would not personally have given way, yet as a sovereign he was bound to concede even *this* point for the sake of Greece." The constitutional throne of Hellas was thus saved: had the King withstood the demand, the alternative was inevitable, viz. a forced abdication and the immediate transfer of King Otho and his family by the steamer which bore his name, and whose boilers by previous arrangement were then hissing at Ægina, to any port where he might wish to land out of Greece.

However, the sovereign took the oath to the Constitution, as did the Council of State; and on this being announced to the people by the venerable Bishop of Attica, the troops filed off and the multitude quietly dispersed. By two o'clock in the day the square before the palace was deserted, and all was over! "This revolution," said the patriarchal Pietro Bey that afternoon, on receiving the congratulations of his friends, "is indeed glorious,—more glorious than the last, since it has been unstained with blood."

The next day near a thousand men approached Athens from

Chalcis under Griziotis, but returned without entering the town. It was soon found that a corresponding movement had taken place on one and the same day in Patras, Lamia, Chalcis, Nauplia, and other large towns. Solemn rejoicings were made for the great event, and the municipal councils of sixty-one towns transmitted to the capital "acts" approving of and adopting the reform. Revolution is not the word which has been used in any of the British official papers to designate this popular movement. In Lord Aberdeen's published dispatches, and in the interesting debate on Greece in the House of Commons, March 15, 1844, the term "revolution" is studiously avoided. In that debate, Sir Robert Inglis, who can hardly be suspected of revolutionary tendencies, concurred in the general sentiment of approval and admiration which had been elicited. After a tribute to the character of Sir Edmund Lyons, whom he described "as every way fitted for the discharge of his high functions, combining, as he did, skill in the discharge of his public duties with gallantry in his profession and the qualities of an English gentleman, uncontaminated by those acts of finesse and intrigue which marked the character of Italian diplomatists in past ages," the honourable baronet expressed himself thus:—

"The noble lord (Palmerston) had said that the three protecting powers were entitled to claim a constitution for Greece. The king himself had years ago promised it, and it was in direct opposition to his pledge that he continued to govern during ten years with a tyranny such as Europe had not for ages witnessed. By whatever name the movement of the 3^d of September may be called, he rejoiced at its success, and was not disposed, with the honourable and gallant member for Liverpool, to regard it in the light of a military demonstration; believing it to have been prepared for months and years before by the scarcely tolerable despotism of the king and his ministers. The soldiers only shared, they did not lead, the feelings of the great body of the people."

The new government immediately entered on its functions. The Bavarian officers and professors were dismissed and speedily left Greece. The elections for the National Assembly were commenced and held under the law of the Constitution of Argos, and the country remained perfectly tranquil. The Assembly met on the 26th of November, 1843; and the Constitution, the fruits of their labours, received the royal assent on the 30th of March, 1844. On that day a solemn service

was performed in the metropolitan church, at which the Court, foreign ministers and members attended, to offer up a national thanksgiving for the event.

The following speech, delivered by his Majesty on the opening of the Assembly has generally been attributed to himself.

“ REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATION :

“ I appear in the midst of you with the pleasing persuasion that this assembly will be the herald of good to our beloved Greece.

“ From the very first establishment of the Monarchy, many liberal institutions were founded, with the object of preparing the way for the introduction of the definitive Constitution. Free municipal institutions, provincial Councils, trial by jury, were the precursors of Representative Government in Greece.

“ We are now to place the keystone of the edifice by the introduction and establishment of the Constitution.

“ Under the protection of the Almighty, let us now unite our efforts for the establishment of a fundamental law conformable to the true wants and circumstances of the State, and adapted to advance and secure the true interests of each.

“ Yes! let wisdom and justice reign in all their force, and let the common tie of love unite us all.

“ In forming the Constitution of our common country, let us not be chary of mutual concessions; but let the common wish to advance and establish the prosperity of the State alone inspire and guide us in this work.

“ You know, Gentlemen, my love for the nation, which I have never, under any circumstances, lost sight of; this leads me to wish for neither more nor less power than is necessary for the safety and prosperity of Greece.

“ Let us combine to form a mutual compact, the intention of which may give a guarantee for its continuance and durability. The whole civilized world have their eyes fixed on us, and history will judge of our labours by their results.

“ Confiding in your enlightened patriotism, I open the present Assembly.

“ May the blessing of God make it propitious and advantageous to Greece! The prosperity of Greece is my wish—is my glory.”

The ancient popular assemblies of Athens were held in the open air on the Pnyx, and of the modern ones the last was held in the open theatre of Argos; but when a Constitution was to be formed, of which the great feature was the modern invention of a limited monarchy, a modern building was also sought for its sittings; and what so appropriate as to convert to constitutional purposes the large ball-room which had formed part of the King's temporary palace, before his removal

to the more ambitious and gloomy pile which Bavarian taste has erected. It was in this well-lighted octagon chamber, some sixty feet diameter, hung with red and white linen, that the National Assembly was held,—its only decoration, medallions containing the names of ninety Greeks who had distinguished themselves in the "*Άγωνα* (war of freedom), and a picture over the door representing Bishop Germanos displaying the standard of the Cross in 1821. But the most striking feature of this chamber was the audience of free Greeks, now after ten years re-assembled to hear their national rights discussed; for with a just confidence in the people, two sides of the octagon were knocked out and a gallery constructed, capable of holding 500 or 600 persons.

Mavrocordato and Coletti, both abroad in September, had now arrived, and, with Metaxa and Londos, were elected to the office of vice-presidents. The ancient customs of Greece prescribed that the oldest member of the Assembly should be president, and accordingly the venerable and patriotic Notaras, now 105 years old, was appointed to this distinguished place, and, notwithstanding his great age, was almost always present. The seats were well arranged, so as to place the members opposite the presidents and their clerks; and a light gallery for the diplomatic corps and distinguished strangers, ran round half the building. Above this was a kind of opera-box for the royal family. The variety of features and costume made the scene a very striking one. There were young members who looked as if they had just walked out of the theatres of Paris or Munich; beside them sat the mountaineers from Messenia and Acarnania, in plain white woollen jackets and fustinellas, with occasionally a shaggy capote thrown over all: Palikars shone in embroidery of gold or silver, their red fezzes with long streamers of blue silk threads worn jauntily on the side of the head; nor were military uniforms wanting in every variety of form and colour. The lawyers for the most part were dressed in the plain Frank costume. In some cases the habit indicated the character; Mavrocordato and Metaxa, for example, were dressed as any English statesmen of middle age would be. Macrijanni, in the coarse white cloth dress of a Greek farmer, seemed the very type of a plain republican; and Coletti's furred and wadded jacket might have seen ser-

vice at the court of Ali Pasha. When the King took the oath to the Constitution, the picture was still further heightened, not only by the addition of Kalergis and the King's brilliant staff, with the whole corps diplomatique, but by the presence of the Queen, whose countenance beamed with becoming emotion, and yet more by the august array of venerable bishops, the members of the Synod, whose white beards, black dresses, high caps and hoods (representing to the life the ancient Flamens), gave a classic harmony and solemnity to the scene.

The discussions of the Chamber were conducted on the whole with great order, and at times with equal enthusiasm and ability. Six or eight among the members were orators worthy of any assembly in Europe; and the ease and self-possession with which almost every man present rose, and spoke a few words to the point, could not fail to strike a stranger with astonishment. But what perhaps was most singular, was the determined business spirit which was kept up. The moment a speaker began in a rhetorical strain to talk of the ancients, and mountains, and liberty and glory, and the Turks, he was stopped by a universal clamour of impatience. It seemed to be understood that the natural genius for eloquence, or at least fluency of speech and indulgence of vanity, was not to be permitted to display itself on this great and solemn occasion. For the rest, the tricks and intrigues and surprises, were much the same as in assemblies of the like kind elsewhere. With peculiar delicacy the King's remarks and proposed alterations in the Constitution were discussed with closed doors, and the replies agreed upon read over next day in a public sitting.

In this way, during a sitting of five months, was the great charter of the Hellenic nation discussed and settled; and let those who doubt whether the Greeks are fit for constitutional liberty, read that plain record of legislative counsel, and renounce their scepticism. That it is without fault or blemish, none will be rash enough to pretend. What human work is or can be without human imperfection? But we say advisedly, that for simplicity, breadth of foundation, a clear, sober, practical appreciation of the relations of king and subject, and of church and state,—of the rights of man, and the

duties and privileges of a citizen—for terse perspicuity and accuracy of definition—it will challenge comparison with any similar document in the world. Much of the force of the original Greek is of course lost in translation, but we are tempted to give a few extracts as samples of the work.

Constitution of Greece, in the name of the Holy Consubstantial and Indivisible Trinity.

“RELIGION.

“Art. 2. The Orthodox Church of Greece, acknowledging for its head our Lord Jesus Christ, is inseparably united in doctrinal union with the great Church of Constantinople and every other church of Christ of the same tenets (Ομολοξος) observing unchangeably, as these do, the holy Apostolical and Synodical Canons and the holy traditions. It is self-dependent (Αύτοκέφαλος), and exercises its supreme power within itself, independently of every other church, and is governed by a Holy Synod of Bishops.

“CIVIL RIGHTS OF THE GREEKS.

“3. Every Greek is equal in the eye of the law, and shall contribute without distinction to the burdens of the State, in proportion to his property. Greek citizens only shall be capable of holding public office. Citizens are those who have acquired or shall acquire the rights of citizenship, according to the laws of the realm.

“4. Personal liberty is inviolable. No individual can be prosecuted, arrested, imprisoned or otherwise molested, except at such time and in such manner as the law directs.

* * * * *

“7. Every individual has the right separately or collectively to petition the Government, provided he conform to the laws of the realm.

“8. The dwelling of every individual is inviolable. No search in dwelling-houses shall take place otherwise than as the law directs.

“9. In Greece man shall neither be bought nor sold; the slave, whether by birth or purchase, of every race or religion, shall be free from the moment he sets his foot on the soil of Greece.

“10. Every one has a right to publish his opinions either verbally, in writing, or through the press, provided he observe the laws of the realm.

“The press is free. Censorship is interdicted.

“The responsible editors, publishers and printers of newspapers shall not be obliged to deposit any sums of money by way of security.

“The editors of newspapers shall be Greek citizens.

“11. The higher branches of public instruction shall be provided for at the expense of the State. The State contributes also to the maintenance of the schools of the Demi, in proportion to the wants of the respective Demi*.

* * * * *

* Demos, plural Demi, Demarch its Governor. Greece was divided into ten Νομοι, each Nomos into Eparchies, each Eparchy into Demi or communal districts.

" 13. Torture and general confiscations are interdicted.

" 14. The secrecy of letters is inviolable.

" FORM OF GOVERNMENT.

" 15. The legislative power is exercised collectively by the King, the Chamber and the Senate.

" 16. The right of proposing laws is vested in the King, in the Chamber and in the Senate. Every law regarding the annual budgets, the income and expenditure of the State, the disposal of national property, the annual regulation of the land- and sea-forces, and the recruiting of the army and navy, shall first be brought before and voted by the Chamber.

* * * * *

" 18. In case of any bill being rejected by any one of the three legislative powers, it shall not be moved for again during the same session.

" 19. The official interpretation of all laws shall belong to the legislative body.

" 20. The executive power is in the King, and is exercised by ministers chosen by him and responsible.

" 21. The judicial authority is exercised by the courts of law, but the sentences of the courts shall be executed in the name of the King.

" THE KING.

" 22. The person of the King is sacred and inviolable, his ministers being responsible.

* * * * *

" 24. The King shall appoint and dismiss his ministers.

" 25. The King is the supreme head of the State, commands the land- and sea-forces, declares war, makes treaties of peace, alliance and commerce ; but shall communicate them to the Chamber and the Senate, accompanied by the necessary explanations, as soon as the interest and safety of the State require. Nevertheless treaties of commerce, and all others that involve concessions respecting which, according to the other articles of the Constitution, nothing can be determined without a law, or which personally affect Greek subjects, have no force without the consent of the Chamber and Senate.

* * * * *

" 30. The King shall assemble the Chamber and the Senate regularly once a-year, but he may assemble them extraordinarily, as often as he judges expedient ; and he shall open and close the Session either in his own person, or by proxy, and he has the right of dissolving the Chamber ; but the order for its dissolution shall contain at the same time the period of its next meeting. The elections shall take place within two months ; the Chambers shall meet within three months.

" 31. The King has the right to postpone the period of opening, or to suspend the continuation of the annual session of the Chamber and Senate, but this postponement or suspension shall not extend longer than forty days, nor be again exercised during the same Session without the consent of the Chamber and Senate.

" 32. The King has the right of pardoning, commuting, or diminishing punishments by sentence of courts of law, with the exception of those

against ministers of state ; he has also the right of granting amnesty, but with the responsibility of all his ministers.

“ 33. The King has the privilege of distributing the insignia of the orders decreed by the provisions of the law respecting them ; he shall not, however, confer titles of nobility and distinction, nor acknowledge such given to Greek citizens by any foreign State.

“ 34. The King has the right of coining money according to law.

“ 35. The Civil List shall be settled by a law, the duration of which is not confined to any fixed period, and which cannot be altered till after the expiration of ten years.

“ THE CHAMBER AND SENATE.

“ 46. No individual shall be at the same time a member of the Chamber of Representatives and of the Senate.

“ 47. The Chamber and Senate shall meet by right on the 1st[13th] of November, unless the King shall call them together at an earlier period, or shall have prorogued their meeting according to Articles 30 and 31 of the present Constitution. The duration of each Session of the Chambers shall not be less than two months.

* * * * *

“ 52. No tax shall be imposed or collected unless previously voted by the Chamber and Senate and confirmed by the King.

“ 53. The Chamber and Senate shall annually vote the budget and pass the accounts of the preceding year ; the revenue and all the expenses of the State must be contained in the budget and in the accounts.

“ 54. No pension or gratuity can be paid out of the public treasury without a law.

“ 55. No member of the Chamber can be prosecuted, or otherwise molested for any opinion or vote given by him in the exercise of his legislative duties.

“ THE CHAMBER OF REPRESENTATIVES.

“ 59. The Chamber is composed of representatives chosen by the citizens possessing the qualifications required by the law of election.

“ 60. The members of the Chamber represent the Nation, and not only the province for which they are elected.

“ 61. The law of election shall regulate the number of representatives in proportion to the population. The number, however, shall in no case be less than eighty.

“ 62. The representatives shall be elected triennially.

“ 63. The qualifications for a representative are, that he be a citizen of Greece, established in Greece, enjoying municipal and political rights, having completed his thirtieth year, and whatever else may be required by the law of election.

“ 64. Representatives appointed by the Government to salaried office, and having accepted it, shall immediately discontinue their parliamentary duties, and they shall resume them only in case of re-election.

* * * * *

" 67. The representatives whilst in performance of their duties shall receive from the public treasury 250 drachmas per month during the sitting of Parliament.

" 68. The representatives who are in the receipt of pay or salary in either the military or civil service shall receive only the difference between their pay, or salaries, and the above-named parliamentary allowance.

" THE SENATE.

" 69. The Senate is an indispensable part of the legislature.

" 70. The King shall appoint the senators for life. The decrees for the nomination of senators shall be countersigned by the President of the Council of Ministers.

" 71. The smallest number of senators stands fixed at twenty-seven, but the King shall have the power of increasing it as necessity may require up to half the number of the Chamber of Representatives. The King cannot increase this number of senators except with the consent of the Chamber of Representatives.

" 72. The following are the qualifications of a senator :—

" (a.) That he should be a citizen of Greece.

" (b.) That he should be established in Greece.

" (c.) That he should be in the enjoyment of political and municipal rights.

" (d.) That he should have completed the 40th year of his age.

" (e.) That he should have been distinguished in Greece, either as—

" (1.) Member or minister in one of the succeeding national governments from the beginning of the War of Independence up to the end of the year 1827.

" (2.) Or twice as representative in the national assemblies, the present included.

" (3.) Or as member of the Chamber at two periods, past and future, or once as representative, and once as member of a chamber.

" (4.) Or as commander-in-chief of an army, fleet or naval squadron, or having commanded the Greek forces in a siege or battle.

" (5.) Or as a man of historic fame for his deeds of arms, or for his great pecuniary sacrifices.

" (6.) Or as president of the Chamber in two sessions, after the publication of the present Constitution.

" (7.) Or as minister of four years' service.

" (8.) Or as general, lieutenant-general or major-general, admiral, vice-admiral or rear-admiral of five years' standing.

" (9.) Or as ambassador after five years' service.

" (10.) Or as president of the Areopagus, or of the audit-office after six years' service.

" (11.) Or as attorney-general of the Areopagus, or president of the court of appeal, or as nomarch after eight years' service.

" (12.) Or as King's commissioner in the audit-office, or King's attorney in the court of appeal, or member of the court of Areopagus after ten years' service.

" (13.) Or as president of a court of a nomos thrice chosen, or having served six years as a councillor to a nomos.

" (14.) Or as rector of the university twice chosen, or as professor of the same after ten years' service.

" (15.) Or as vice-president of a chamber of commerce twice chosen, or after six years' service as a member of the same.

" The length of service of those included from clauses 6 to 14 will begin from the publication of the present Constitution. The qualifications in the present article shall be revised after fifteen years by the legislature.

* * * * *

" 75. The sons of the Sovereign and the heir presumptive to the throne shall be of right senators when they shall have attained their eighteenth year, but shall not be entitled to vote till the expiration of their twenty-fifth year.

" 76. The parliamentary session of the Senate shall commence and terminate with that of the Chamber.

* * * * *

" 79. The senators shall receive an allowance of 500 drachmas per month whilst sitting.

" Those senators in the receipt of pay or salary, either in the military or civil services, shall only receive the difference between their pay and allowance.

" THE MINISTERS.

" 80. No member of the royal family can be a minister.

" 81. Ministers shall have the right of voting in the Chamber or Senate only when members; they shall have free entrance to their sittings, and shall have the right of speaking as often as they may require. Either Chamber may demand the presence of ministers.

" 82. No order of the King, written or verbal, shall release any minister from his responsibility.

" 83. The Chamber has the right of impeaching the ministers before the Senate, which shall try them in open assembly. Nevertheless those senators who may have been named since the impeachment shall take no part in the trial.

" A special law shall define the responsibility of ministers, as well as the punishments to be inflicted and mode of trial.

" JUDICIAL AUTHORITY.

" 86. The Sovereign is the source of justice, but it is administered by judges appointed by him.

" 87. The judges and those members of the audit-office who have a vote shall be named for life. A special law, which shall be enacted five years after the promulgation of the present Constitution, shall determine the period from which they shall receive their nomination for life.

" From the period that the judges and those members of the audit-office having votes are appointed, they shall not be dismissed except by sentence of a court of law.

* * * * *

"90. The sittings of the courts shall be public, except when publicity would be injurious to morals or good order; in such cases the courts shall publish such decision.

"91. Every sentence shall be accompanied by the reasons thereof, and read in open court.

"92. Trial by jury is retained.

"93. Political offences shall be tried by jury as well as those of the press, when not personal libels.

"94. No judge shall be allowed to accept any other salaried office except that of professor in the university.

"GENERAL REGULATIONS.

"97. A special law shall determine the retirement of senators and judges for life on account of age and infirmity.

"98. No foreign troops shall be taken into the Greek service, nor remain in, nor pass through the kingdom without an express law.

"99. No one serving in the army or navy shall be deprived of his rank, grade or pay, except as the law directs.

"100. No oath shall be administered, without a law regulating its form.

"101. The existing provincial administrative courts are abolished. Cases pending before these courts shall, after the publication of the present Constitution, be brought before and decided on by the common courts of law, and shall take precedence in the cause-list. Special laws to be enacted during the first parliamentary sitting shall remove all the remaining cases pending before the provincial administrative courts unto the common courts of law, and settle the mode of proceeding.

"PARTICULAR REGULATIONS.

"104. The legislative bodies shall meet within three months from the legal publication of the present Constitution.

"105. The following subjects shall be taken into consideration as soon as possible, and special laws framed thereon:—

"(a.) The number of bishops in the kingdom, and the means necessary for the support of the clergy in a manner suitable to the dignity of their sacred character, and for those who belong to or perform the services of any monastic institution.

"(b.) The ecclesiastical property and public education.

"(c.) The disposal and distribution of national land; the examination and liquidation of all national debts, foreign or domestic.

"(d.) The Press.

"(e.) 1st. The amelioration of the system of taxation.

"2nd. The simplification of judicial acts, and of the public service in all its branches.

"(f.) The establishment of courts for adjudication on acts of piracy and baratry.

"(g.) The organization of the national guard.

"(h.) The codes of law for the army and navy.

"(i.) The encouragement of agriculture, trade and commerce.

“(k.) The fixing of pensions for the army and navy, and civil functionaries.

“106. The present Constitution shall be in force as soon as it shall have received the royal signature. The Council of Ministers shall publish it in the Government Gazette within twenty-four hours after it has been signed.

“107. The preservation of the present Constitution is entrusted to the patriotism of the Greeks.

The Assembly passed also many decrees and an election law, remarkable for the simplicity and completeness of its machinery*. The Royal assent was given to the Charter of the Constitution on the 30th of March 1844, and the Assembly was dissolved by a short speech from the throne.

There may perhaps be some to whom the Hellenic Constitution may seem too democratic in its elements; but we would have such reflect, that what may be best for one people may be wholly unfit for another. Our full conviction is, that widely extended suffrage, vote by ballot and triennial parliaments, are as necessary, and will prove as little hurtful, to Greece, as in the opinion of many they would be unsuited and mischievous to Great Britain; and we would further remind them, that the Constitution, as a whole, received the unqualified approval of Lord Aberdeen, certainly no rash innovator in politics or legislation. Indeed we cannot better describe the views taken of this great event in our own country than by inserting the two concluding letters of the very valuable and interesting correspondence relating to Greece in 1843-44, presented to the British Parliament, in pursuance of their address, March 14, 1844†.

Sir Edmund Lyons to the Earl of Aberdeen.

“MY LORD,

“Athens, March 30, 1844.

“I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that King Otho has this day taken the oath prescribed by the Constitution, and dissolved the National Constituent Assembly.

“The ceremony took place in the hall in which the Assembly held its

* “By this law every province (*ἐπαρχία*) of 10,000 souls has the right of sending one member; of 20,000 inhabitants, two members; of 30,000 inhabitants, three; and of upwards of 30,000, four members.”

† It ought, in justice to the persevering and talented minister (to whom so much is due in the matter, were all known), to be borne in mind, that the more difficult and delicate transactions could not of course appear in such a document; and we have much pleasure in recording that the praises elicited from all sides of the House of Commons during the debates on Greece, and repeated in the form of “the satisfaction of Her Majesty’s Government,” were followed by the transmission of the blue ribbon of the Bath.

sittings. A short time before the King's arrival, his Majesty sent the Grand Cross of his Order of the Redeemer to the venerable President of the Assembly; and on entering the hall his Majesty informed Colonel Kalergi that he had appointed him major-general, as a reward for the services he had lately rendered to the throne and the country as commandant of the garrison and guardian of the National Assembly, and that he had named him one of his aides-de-camp in consequence of the confidence his conduct had inspired.

"The King then delivered the following speech from the throne :—

" ' Rejoicing in the accomplishment of the great work of the formation of the Constitution of Greece, I appear amongst you to seal it by taking the prescribed oath. [Here the oath was administered to his Majesty by the Holy Synod.]

" ' I pray that the Constitution, the holy and indissoluble bond between the King and the Nation, may consolidate and advance the prosperity of Greece.

" ' The object for which I called together the National Assembly being now accomplished, I declare it to be dissolved.'

" His Majesty then retired amidst the enthusiastic cheers of nearly 2000 persons who were in the hall and in the galleries, and who on his Majesty's departure turned towards the Queen, who was in a separate part of the hall, and were equally enthusiastic in cheering her Majesty.

" The diplomatic body was invited to the ceremony, and all the missions were present excepting that of Russia.

" Thus, my Lord, the great political change which commenced on the 3rd (15th) of September has been consummated, almost without bloodshed (for the *gend'arme* who lost his life fell by accident) and entirely without interruption of commerce or communication by sea or land; not a vessel or port has been stopped; the taxes have been collected and paid into the treasury, and the tribunals have pursued their ordinary course. This certainly affords reasonable grounds for hope for the future, and particularly so when it is taken into consideration, that the manifestation of national feeling against the system of the King's government which took place on the 3rd (15th) of September was immediately followed by a popular election, and that again by the meeting of a National Assembly, numerous beyond all precedent with reference to the population, and consequently withdrawing from the provinces a very large proportion of the superior authorities of the Government. King Otho's best friends have not failed to point out to his Majesty that such subjects cannot be difficult to govern, and that with the blessing of Providence he may easily reign over them honourably and happily as a constitutional monarch.

" I have, etc.,

(Signed)

" EDMUND LYONS."

The Earl of Aberdeen to Sir Edmund Lyons.

" SIR,

" Foreign Office, April 17, 1844.

" Her Majesty's Government have learnt with the greatest satisfaction, by your despatch of the 30th ultimo, the termination of the labours of the

Constituent Assembly, and the final and solemn acceptance and ratification of the Constitution by the King. They have viewed with no less satisfaction the admirable temper which appears to have generally prevailed in the Constituent Assembly throughout the whole of their deliberations on the deeply interesting and important act on which they have been engaged. Such self-command in a popular assembly, convoked under very exciting circumstances, is highly creditable to the Greek nation. Nor is the result of their labours as a whole less entitled to credit for the general soundness of the constitutional principles therein established.

"In thus expressing myself with respect to the acts of the Greek nation, it is but just that I should state to you, that her Majesty's Government have highly approved of your own conduct throughout the whole of the trying circumstances in which you have been placed, since the outbreak of popular feeling in September last; and I have great pleasure in here conveying to you the expression of their satisfaction.

"I am, etc.

(Signed)

"*ABERDEEN.*"

Thus ends the narrative of the events which preceded, accompanied and consummated the second emancipation of the Greeks. It was not however for the mere purpose of presenting before our readers a sketch or picture of that most interesting and dramatic spectacle that this article was projected. We had a higher and more important object in view: our intention was to draw a moral from the story. We would gladly have placed before the English public, or that portion of it to whom Greece and the Greeks are not indifferent, a true and faithful record of the actual condition of the people—moral, social, political and religious—its wants and capabilities—its hopes and difficulties, and we trusted to enlist not only the sympathies but the active zeal of our countrymen once more on behalf of a nation struggling to work out its redemption in this crisis of its destiny. We would have our countrymen perceive and acknowledge that there is between Hellas and England a bond not only of common feeling but of reciprocal interests; and that it is not alone because their Homer is our Homer, and that we have appropriated and made familiar their language, their temples and their literature, that we feel towards them as brethren and fellow-countrymen; but also, and even still more, because the destiny and high calling of England is, to cherish freedom, to foster genius, to protect weakness, and to aid the development of national greatness and independence. Other and more prosaic reasons

might also be suggested why Greece, regarded as a barrier-state and an outpost of constitutional government, cannot and ought not to be indifferent to England; but all this, with a mass of statistical details, the results of which we were desirous of laying before the public, must be reserved, it may be, for some other occasion*.

ARTICLE IX.

The French in Africa.—Algeria.

THE question concerning the position and prospects of Algeria is one not only of great present interest, but of importance in its future consequences. Nevertheless England, who has a larger part in this interest than any other power, appears to share the general indifference, not to say ignorance, upon the subject. It seems strange that a territory which lies the nearest to Europe, and with which so many associations are connected, should be that of which we know the least. Yet Algiers for a long period held the command of the seas; thence issued that swarm of rulers who threatened to inundate the whole of Europe, and during several ages subjugated and civilized a portion of it. Here were erected the primitive churches, where the eloquence of the first fathers of

* Though precluded by our limits from entering further into the subject at present, we are tempted to give a few heads from the results of our statistical inquiries which we think will not be uninteresting.

Total population of the Greek faith (not being Russian subjects) by some estimates, 5,150,000; by others, 6,733,000. Greeks, subjects of King Otho, 810,000 to 900,000. Population of Athens in 1844—Athenians 20,000, soldiers and strangers 3,500. [This was when the National Assembly was *not* sitting.]

Numbers under education (1840) in Greece 23,969; numbers under education at Athens (1844) 2,820; being, boys 1,900, girls 680, infants 240; of which last 390 girls and 240 infants were educated in the schools of the American Episcopalian Mission. The English Church Missionary Society has also in its schools at Syra 560 children.

University of Athens (in 1844)—professors 33, students 90, hearers 110. Bishops in the kingdom of Hellas, 40; priests, 3,123 (of whom 2,620 married).

Merchant navy of Hellas—tons 111,201. A return of the year 1841—national lands cultivated about 2,510,000, uncultivated about 1,517,000, British acres.

Greek Royal Navy (in 1844)—vessels 13, gun-boats 7; estimate, including education and arsenal departments, 1,140,658 drachmas (£40,737); men and officers in ships in commission 544. Greek Army—soldiers of all arms (in 1844) 6,581.

Christianity was heard. From the centre of this continent we see continually brought gold, ivory, precious stones, perfumes and rare animals; yet our cupidity remains unstimulated, our curiosity unexcited. Africa has remained a *terra incognita*; and whilst European civilization was spreading in all parts of the world, discovering new lands, founding or subjugating new empires, we permitted at our very doors a nest of corsairs to remain, to whom we paid an humiliating tribute to save our flag from insult. For ages Europe submitted to this ignoble position: many times did the sceptre of the seas pass from one nation to another, yet no one would undertake to deliver Europe from the yoke of the pirates of Algiers. In fact, since the expedition of Charles V. nothing worthy of mention was attempted, until the American expedition and the bombardment of Algiers by Lord Exmouth. As long as the spirit of chivalry existed, the knights of Malta combatted the barbarians of Algiers; by degrees however they submitted to the influence of an altered age and circumstances: they were no longer a terror to the Algerines, and their fame throughout Europe was turned into pity or contempt.

We shall not here investigate the causes which rendered the expedition of Lord Exmouth fruitless; but we believe that every Englishman considers our government censurable at that time, in having allowed Algiers to escape the British sway. Algiers is the point which naturally connects our possessions in the Mediterranean, Gibraltar and Malta, as the Ionian isles form the natural junction of our possessions in the East. In order to throw light upon our subject we shall introduce it by a brief historical notice.

All that part of the north of Africa known by the name of the Regency of Algiers, and called by the French Algeria, is covered with ancient Roman ruins, which attest the sway of that people. But this country is known in history still earlier, both as an instrument of the greatness of Carthage and of her fall. There are several accounts of the ancient inhabitants of north Africa; but we shall content ourselves with the hypothesis of Procopius, a contemporary Byzantine historian, engaged in the war in Africa under Belisarius. He says that the tribes of Syria, from Sidon to Egypt, driven on by the invasion of Jesus the son of Navé, in Palestine, emi-

grated and settled in the north of Africa, and that from these descended the nomade tribes of the Moors and Numidians. The primitive inhabitants, *Autochthones*, retired to the mountains, where they preserved their rural and quiet habits, together with their independence. The second emigration consisted of the Phœnician colonies, who founded Carthage. These colonists were received by the inhabitants, who recognized in them the same origin. Soon however the spirit of dominion in the colonists forced the ancient inhabitants to leave the coast. It is sufficient to remark here that the Barbarines or Kabailes appear to have continued the race of the primitive people of Africa; whilst the Numidians, the ancient Moors, Semitic peoples, are represented by the nomade Arabs, with whom they were amalgamated.

The enterprising spirit of the Carthaginians, and the powerful organization of their government, gave them ere long the command over their neighbours, who, preserving their primitive customs, lived in separate tribes, under a patriarchal authority. The empire of Carthage lasted 700 years (from B.C. 880 to 146) when Rome supplanted Carthage. The Romans took 232 years to establish themselves in Africa, but, a century after Augustus, this country was a second Rome. It became so flourishing, that A.D. 411, at the Council of Utica, there were present 576 bishops: the population was estimated at ten millions. The arrival from Spain (A.D. 428) of Genseric king of the Vandals terminated the Roman sway, which lasted in Africa nearly six hundred years.

The conquest by the Vandals was rapidly effected but insecurely held, and the first shock overthrew it: their king Gelimer was vanquished by Belisarius in 534, and Africa passed into the power of the empire of the East. At that period the Arabs, led by the fanaticism of Mahomet, appeared upon the scene and attacked the eastern empire. The lieutenant of the caliph Omar took possession of Egypt, and Okba in 647 seized a part of Africa and founded Kerouan, the seat of the Arab power in those countries. Moussa-ben-Nasseir, lieutenant of the caliph Walid, took Carthage in 697, effaced in Africa the name of the Roman and Greek sway, and, amalgamating his own people with the native inhabitants, established Mahometanism. In 710 he even passed into

Spain, which country in 712 was taken by his lieutenant from the disunited Goths.

This was the climax of the Arab power, which was soon broken by internal dissensions: these, more than the victory of Charles Martel at Poitiers in 733, saved the world from the domination of the Arabs. In 790 the unity of the caliphate was destroyed: there was one at Bagdad, and the sultan of Egypt and caliph of Spain were each independent. In Africa the East was under the rule of the caliph of Kerouan, and the West under that of Fez, whilst the interior was divided into an infinite number of small principalities. An uninterrupted series of internal wars was the result of this division of power; but it is remarkable in Africa that the principle of the difference of race, which is perpetuated to our times, predominates in all these wars; it is a continual struggle of the natives, the people of Barbary, against foreigners, the Arabs.

The Christians in Spain, taking advantage of these dissensions, hemmed in the Arab power more and more; and Mahometanism, seeing itself threatened, summoned all the faithful to the holy war (*El-djehad*). The banners of the two faiths met on the plains of Tolosa in 1212; Islamism was vanquished, and never rose above this defeat.

In Africa however intestine revolutions and wars succeeded one another: the Arab empire of the Almohades was divided, fell, and gave place to the sway of the chiefs of the Barbary tribes, *Béni-Ifferen**, who were in turn expelled by the *Béni-Zion*. In 1370 the Arabs threw off the yoke of Barbary and established a new sovereignty at Mostaganem, whilst various small states arose at Fez, Morocco, Mequinez, Tlemecen, Tunis, Tripolis, Algiers, Tenes, Boojeya, and Tugurth. This subdivision of the power of the Moslems in Africa rendered it impossible for them to aid their brethren of the faith in Spain, and the latter were finally driven from that country in 1499.

Not satisfied with their expulsion, the Spaniards pursued them into Africa, and in various expeditions took possession of Oran and Boojeya and erected a fort which commanded the roadstead of Algiers. Algiers was at that time a kind of re-

* It is said that Abdel-Kader is descended from these, but he maintains the nobility of his origin, and that he is *djouad*, Arab of the conquest.

public, governed by a prince and protected by the kings of Boojeya and Tlemecen. This prince, Selim-Eutemi, with a view to free himself from the Spaniards, called to his aid the famous pirate Barbarossa. The Spaniards were expelled, but Barbarossa put Eutemi to death, took possession of Algiers in 1516, and, following up his successes, engaged the Spaniards, and afterwards the Arabs of the interior, and made himself master of Tenes, Medeah and Miliana. He then demanded the investiture of the Porte, which was granted him; and thus an end was put to the Barbary rule, which lasted from 1070 to 1516. His brother Cheredin, relying on the militia established by Barbarossa, upon the model of the Knights of Rhodes, and on the protection of the Porte, extended the Turkish dominion, and took possession of Tlemecen, Mostaganem and Constantine. This ephemeral power was consolidated by the disaster of Charles V., whose brilliant army perished before Algiers from a combination of errors and adverse circumstances. The Pasha of Algiers, being unable to drive the Spaniards from Oran, appointed a Bey to that province at Mascara. This Algerine power was augmented by the arrival of the Moors, driven from Spain in 1600; and several subsequent fruitless expeditions against Algiers gave them a formidable military reputation.

In 1627 the Algerine militia revolted, and altered the organization of the government, electing their chief unanimously. This change led to the most frightful excesses of anarchy: six Deys were strangled in a single day. The Porte, as suzerain, had always a Pasha at Algiers, who possessed however only a show of authority, whilst all the power resided in the hands of the Dey, the chief of the militia. In 1710 however this body expelled the Pasha of the Porte, and retained only the Dey, who became an independent chief, recognizing merely the spiritual authority of the Sultan. The Spaniards at this period lost Oran, which they however re-entered in 1732; but finding its possession onerous, they in 1792 again ceded it to the Dey of Algiers.

Following the history of this country, we observe continual revolts and wars against the foreign Turkish domination, at one time by Barbary at another by the Arabs; occasionally too the people were excited by some fanatic, eager to barter

spiritual for temporal power. It is remarkable that in no other country have there ever arisen so many prophets and adventurers, to abuse the credulity of men, as in this part of Africa.

In the beginning of this century several expeditions were undertaken against Algiers. In 1815, the Americans obtained a complete success with a very small force and by threats alone. In 1816, the English fleet under the command of Lord Exmouth set sail, to avenge upon Algiers the massacre of the English, French and Spanish at Bona. The bombardment took place on August 26th, and, after the destruction of the whole Algerine fleet, the Dey submitted to the demands of the British admiral. The demonstration of the English and French fleet in 1819, and that of the English fleet in 1824, produced no effect. The latter inflated the confidence of the pirates and urged them on to their ruin. In 1830 the Dey insulted the French consul, and, on his refusal to make the reparation demanded, a French fleet consisting of a hundred men-of-war, 357 transports, and carrying 35,000 men, sailed from Toulon on the 5th of May. The army landed in Africa, June 14th, and after an engagement took possession of Algiers. Thus was overthrown the Turkish dominion in Africa, which during 214 years (from 1516 to 1830) had spread terror throughout the coasts of the Mediterranean.

Before we consider the conduct of the French on entering upon their new conquest, we shall endeavour to give a statistical and geographical idea of this country.

The Regency of Algiers, which is now called Algeria, includes the three Roman provinces of Numidia, Mauritania Sitifensis and Mauritania Cæsariensis. Algeria is enclosed between Morocco, the Mediterranean, the province of Tunis, and the Sahara. The extent of its coasts, from west to east, is 200 leagues; its superficies is approximately estimated at 6,300 square leagues, and the number of the inhabitants at three millions. The soil is very fertile and well watered, although there are no navigable rivers. Algeria may be compared with Spain, but it is more beautiful and much more fertile. The temperature generally is moderate; the average heat in summer is 90° (Fahr.) and in winter 68°: the greatest heat being from nine o'clock in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon. When the Khamsin, the wind of

the desert, begins to blow, the thermometer rises suddenly 20°. Throughout the whole year there are scarcely six days without sun, or eighty when it rains. The climate is healthy, especially near the coast, and it is only in the neighbourhood of marshes that dangerous fevers are found. Dysentery causes ravages, when the people indulge in excesses or are exposed to the cold night dews. At Oran the climate is more dry and warm, and at Bona the proximity to the marshes occasions epidemics and fevers.

The Sahara is supposed to be 400 leagues long and 200 wide: however no one has explored it, for, according to an Eastern saying, "the desert devours those whom it does not know." The desert thus borders Algeria, which it separates from the unknown country, the Soudan, whence are brought gold-dust, ivory, slaves, perfumes and rare animals. Near Algeria, Mount Atlas rises like a wall, protecting it from invasions from the desert. For this reason the openings formed by the streams of water, or any other natural cause, are extremely important; these being the only channels by which the commerce of the interior is brought to the sea-coast. There are very few roads in this country, nor can they be multiplied at pleasure; they depend upon the springs of water, the grass in their course and the mountain-passes. Thus commerce now follows nearly the same routes as in antiquity. The Atlas on the south-west, between the desert and the Atlantic, is less difficult, and the country of Tafilet offers every facility of route: the chain of mountains descends into the gulf of the Great Syrtis, and the Fezzan or Biledulgerid opens towards the south a route through an oasis. As in ancient times the Cyrenaic region flourished on the west, so at the present day flourishes Morocco; and what Carthage was formerly on the east, Tunis is now on a small scale. Along the south side of the Atlas lies the route of the caravans between Morocco and Mecca, on which there are intermediate stations, connected with the lines of communication with the coast. Thus at Ouerghela, a town 150 leagues from the coast, all the routes of Algeria converge: they have intermediate stations; thus Medeah is the station of Algiers,—Biscara and Tugurth the stations of Bona and Constantine. The second large station is at Gadames, where the routes of

Tunis and Tripolis join; the road here forks out into two lines, the caravans either going southward by Fezzan or eastward by Egypt. The Atlas is not a single chain of mountains, but is composed of several parallel lines crossing Algeria, and connected by other transverse mountains, as the Turgura and Bibans, which decline as they approach the sea. Their last line, bordering the plain of the Metidja, is that commonly called the Little Atlas. The country is in this way divided into a series of basins, furrowed by water-courses in various directions, some of which traverse the chain of the Little Atlas before reaching the sea. The highest summits of this chain are estimated at from 1400 to 1600 metres, and the plains enclosed between the different mountain-chains are elevated in proportion to their distance from the sea; so that the desert forms a kind of table-land, where, from want of water and under a burning sun, vegetation ceases. The Little Atlas contains rich mines of iron, copper and lead; and on its southern side are many hot mineral springs, greatly esteemed by the inhabitants for their medicinal virtues. Algeria is divided into four provinces: on the north lies that of Algiers, on the south that of Titteri, on the east the province of Constantine, and on the west that of Oran.

We shall now return to the subject of this article,—the French administration in Algeria. On entering Algiers, July 9th, 1830, they declared that their hostility was only directed against the Dey, and that they were come to destroy the Turkish yoke. The inhabitants believed them; and, once secured against the excesses which might follow a forcible occupation of the city, they regarded the change of rulers with indifference and the usual impassibility of mussulmen. The day after the taking of Algiers, the Bey of Titteri requested to be confirmed in his office, and on July 15, 1830, he took the oath of fidelity to France at the hands of General Bourmont.

The occupation of Algiers was accompanied with the greatest disorder; soldiers might be seen lighting their pipes with the papers of the Algerine government; and thus it was with the greatest trouble that any trace of the Dey's administration could afterwards be found. This was the first source of the disorder and abuses which for a long time marked the

French administration. A multitude of faults are attributable to this chaos and obscurity of affairs; for, being left thus in the dark and to act at hazard, many embarrassments were created by ignorance of the past, by offending prejudices and invading rights, the very existence of which was unknown.

This carelessness of the French authorities proceeded in a great measure, it must be admitted, from their ignorance of the intentions of the Government respecting Algiers. This is so true, that soon after the occupation of the city the General-in-chief ordered a report to be made on the means of destroying the fortifications on the coast and the port. Notwithstanding, however, the disorder which attended the occupation of Algiers, the public treasure was protected from any depredation: an inventory of it was made by three commissioners, and it was transported intact on board the vessels of the state: the amount was 48,700,000 francs.

The persons in the Turkish service, receiving no orders, and no regulation being made respecting them, retired, taking what they could, and destroying all the registers and the most valuable documents. In order to prevent the total absence of authority, a municipal council was formed, composed of Moors and Jews,—an act which itself showed the greatest ignorance in the French of the antipathies of the different races.

A few days after the nomination of the municipal council, and that of a Moor as Aga of the Arabs, the tribes, seeing that the yoke under which they had been was broken, were ready to acknowledge the power to which fortune had given the victory. Some influential men, desirous of obtaining protection against the Turkish power, opened a communication with General Bourmont and demanded assistance; one of the first was Ben-Zamoun, chief of the tribe of Flissa. General Bourmont did not appreciate this offer at its worth, and, wishing to assume an imposing position towards the surrounding tribes, he undertook an expedition against Blida with 1200 men, July 23, 1830. The Arabs, regarding the French no longer as the conquerors of their oppressors, but only as a number of infidels, and instigated also by those of their chiefs whom General Bourmont had not received, prepared for resistance. The day after the arrival of the French column at

Blida, hostilities commenced; and the French, not being in force, fought retreating, which appeared to the Arabs a flight, and destroyed the first prestige of victory.

General Bourmont, on his return to Algiers, found there his brevet of Marshal of France; but irritated at the ill-success of his expedition to Blida, and attributing it to the intrigues of the Turks, he ordered their expulsion, in which act he yielded chiefly to the intrigues of the Moors and Jews. This act not only raised open enemies to the French Government, but brought upon it the accusation of injustice to the inhabitants; and the unfavourable opinion was increased by intrigues, which contributed much to dispose the natives against the French.

During the march against Blida, the General had planned two other expeditions,—one against Bona, the other upon Oran, the Bey of which province offered to tender his submission. Bona was occupied on the 2nd of August, but after some brilliant actions the French unaccountably abandoned it on the 22nd of the same month. In like manner Oran was occupied, August 6th, but the French only blew up a fort and then re-embarked for Algiers. A person from Boojeya went to Algiers, and requested and obtained from the Marshal to be appointed Kaid, in the name of France: he was sent back in a government vessel, but upon landing he was put to death by the inhabitants of Boojeya: the French vessel was fired upon and returned to Algiers. This insult and the death of a servant of the French passing unavenged rendered the Arabs insolent: they accused the French of weakness, inconsistency, and a fickleness approaching to treachery. Appearances were certainly against them, but we may exculpate in some degree the French authorities at Algiers from these charges. The revolution of July had just broken out, a dynasty was changed, the charter was revised, society was shaken, and the world menaced with a general outbreak. All these events might well call off the attention of France from the affairs of Algeria, but this diversion was the source of those fundamental errors whose sad consequences have subsequently rendered Algeria a fatal possession to France.

On the settlement of affairs at Paris, attention was again turned to Algiers; Marshal Bourmont was recalled, and Gene-

ral Clauzel sent to succeed him. He arrived at Algiers, September 2nd, 1830, and took the command of the army, which then amounted to 37,357 men and 3094 horses. General Clauzel showed much activity in his administration: to fill up the vacancies in the army occasioned by the return of different regiments to France, he decided on the formation of two native battalions of Zouaves,—a name derived from the tribe Kabaile Zouaoua, which sold its services to the Bey of Constantine. He likewise directed his attention to the civil government, reformed the administration of justice, and instituted tribunals: this organization existed until 1841. General Clauzel also formed the idea of colonization at Algiers, and ordered the establishment of a model farm. The idea was a good one, but it failed in execution on account of the unhealthiness of the site chosen. Notwithstanding these measures, abuses multiplied: the General decreed the confiscation of the property of the Turks who had been expelled, and numerous acts of injustice were the consequence of this vexatious measure.

The Bey of Titteri, who had obtained from the French the investiture of that province, perceiving their inertness, of which he hoped to take advantage, summoned the tribes to the holy war, and restricted the French dominion to the advanced posts which covered Algiers. In order to punish this treason of the Bey, and to restore the authority of the French power in the eyes of the Arabs, General Clauzel determined to seize Medeah. He left Algiers with a force of 7000 men on November 17th, 1830, and after some skirmishes on the route arrived at Blida, where he left a small garrison. On the 22nd of November he entered Medeah, and the Bey surrendered to the French. General Clauzel appointed a Moor, Ben-Omar, as Bey, and left a garrison in the place. On his return to Algiers, he found that the garrison of Blida had been attacked by a force collected by Ben-Zamoun, and had narrowly escaped destruction; a French detachment also going to Algiers to seek ammunition was massacred, and there were many signs of the commencement of a war of extermination, with a population resolved to maintain its independence.

General Clauzel, seeing that direct dominion in Algeria was

become a heavy burden, re-occupied the fort of Mers-el-Kbir and Oran in December, and signed a treaty with the Bey of Tunis, by which he ceded to two members of the Tunis family the beyships of Constantine and Oran. The first convention was fictitious, as Achmet Bey commanded at Constantine; the second was executed, and the French restored the town of Oran to the Tunisians. This negotiation might have been attended by fortunate results; but the pride of M. de Sebastiani, then minister of foreign affairs, was wounded, at the affair being transacted without his concurrence, and it failed.

In consequence of the reductions made in the army of Africa, General Clauzel was obliged to recall the garrison of Medeah: the evacuation took place on the 3rd of January, 1831. Thus, as soon as the French retired to the environs of Algiers, their dominion scarcely extended beyond their advanced posts; and the Arabs, now free from restraint, abandoned themselves to excesses, until the native inhabitants themselves were ready to submit to any authority. Instead of profiting by this disposition of the people, the French government seemed desirous of repelling them by continual changes: the army was reduced to a force of 9,300 men, and was called the *Division of Occupation of Algiers*. General Clauzel, who had the welfare of the country at heart, was recalled, and his successor, General Berthezène, arrived at Algiers February 2, 1831.

The position of Ben-Omar, Bey of Titteri, became critical at Medeah; the son of the former Bey, Oulid-Ben-Merzag, raised the tribes, besieged him in the town, and General Berthezène was obliged to go to his succour. On the approach of the French the Arabs retired, but only to place themselves beyond reach, and so long as the French advanced: as soon as the latter retreated they were pursued with fury. On his return to Medeah, General Berthezène declared his necessity of abandoning the town, and he retreated, followed by the Bey and his adherents. In descending the Atlas, they were hotly attacked by the Arabs, who spread disorder among the French troops; in fact, they were saved only by the skill and courage of their leader. The Arabs continued their pursuit up to Algiers, and the insurrection became general among all

the surrounding tribes, headed by Ben-Zamoun and Sidi-Saadi, a fanatical and ambitious marabout.

Since the evacuation of Bona by the French in 1830, the town had been self-governed; but being pressed by the neighbouring tribes, it now demanded aid of General Berthezène, who, thinking the occasion favourable, resolved to re-occupy Bona. This took place, but the French being surprized were driven out with loss. This unfortunate affair, not provoking any act of severity, contributed not a little to injure the French reputation.

The Government, however, not having ratified the convention of General Clauzel with the Bey of Tunis, it was resolved to re-occupy Oran, and General Boyer was sent there in September, with an authority independent of that of the General-in-chief. Thus did the French government voluntarily discredit their own authority, by observing a vacillating conduct and weakening their own power. At the moment of the arrival of General Boyer, the province of Oran was in a state of ferment. Mascara, after the slaughter of the Turks, was self-governed, and in the surrounding tribes the religious and political influence of the marabout Mahy-Eddin, father of Abdel-Kader, extended more and more. Tlemecen was governed by Arab citizens (Hadars), who had won their independence, whilst the mechouar (citadel) was held by the Turks and Coulouglis. Mostaganem recognized the French power; Arzew was also well disposed; but all the rest, and especially the Arabs of the tribes, were hostile. The Emperor of Morocco thought the occasion favourable for him to resume his claims on Tlemecen, and to extend his influence over the province of Titteri; he even introduced his governors into Medeah and Miliana.

The French government at length saw the insufficiency of the army at Algiers, and determined to raise it to an effective force of 16,000 men. General Berthezène was recalled, and Governor-general the Duc de Rovigo, appointed to succeed him, arrived at Algiers December 25, 1831. We must here notice that M. Casimir Périer, in his desire to assume the direction of affairs in Algiers, caused a civil intendant to be appointed, who was independent of the Governor. This state

of things did not last long, and the intendant was again placed under the authority of the Governor; such changes however are fatal, especially in a newly established colony and in the face of a hostile population.

The Duc de Rovigo was the first to understand the position of the French at Algiers: he identified himself with the country, for he saw that in raising its position he should establish his own: his attention was centred on Algiers, whose prosperity was the object of all his thoughts and ambition. At the same time he anxiously cared for the welfare of the army, and was zealously aided by General Trezel, his *chef d'état major*: camps were established, which still exist, in the most healthy spots, and the beautiful palace of the Dey was given up for a military hospital. Perceiving the influence upon the Arabs of the absence of religious forms among the French, he built a church at Algiers. The first roads were opened by order of the Governor-general; the first colonists were established by the Duc de Rovigo at Kouba and Dely-Ibrahim. On the other hand, however, his former accustomed severity as minister of police was injurious to the Duke. One of the most lamentable of his acts was the destruction of the tribe of El-Ouffia, for a depredation imputed to them of which they were innocent. This revolting execution called forth the hatred of the Arabs: Sidi-Saadi preached the holy war; numerous single assassinations of the French took place; at last the insurrection became general, and Ben-Zamoun put himself at its head. The French troops, scattered on different points, and continually kept on the alert by alarms, were weakened by toil and hardships, and at one time there were 4000 sick. The Arabs did not take advantage of this position of the French, and, instead of continuing this harassing kind of war, they hazarded open combats, in which they were defeated: they dispersed in October, 1832.

After the evacuation of Bona the anarchy continued; and the inhabitants, to escape from it, had once more recourse to the aid of the French. The latter, by a vigorous stroke, took possession of Bona, and occupied it with a considerable force, which succeeded in restraining the neighbouring tribes.

In the province of Oran, governed by General Boyer, the growth of an Arab nationality was advancing, which the

violence and cruelty of that General contributed not a little to mature. The Emperor of Morocco, urged by the pressing summons of France to abandon the provinces of Titteri and Oran, and desirous at least of preserving there an indirect influence, entered into a treaty with the old marabout Mahy-Eddin. The latter accepted his protection, laboured to consolidate the Arab power, and proved to these tribes that, to succeed in expelling the infidels, they must gather around one man and obey one national authority. The tribes of Mascara wished to elect Mahy-Eddin Emir, but, old as he was and fearing that after his death the power would be disputed in his son's hands, he declined the offer. His son had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, instructed himself in administration under Mehemet Aly, and returning to his country with this prestige of superiority, Mahy-Eddin declared to the Arabs that the Prophet commanded them to elect as Emir the young Abdel-Kader. Thus opened the career of a man whom fortune and his countrymen may abandon, but who will not the less remain in history the type of a national hero. We extract the following account of the establishment of Abdel-Kader's sway from the narrative of Colonel Scott, who was a resident in his court.

“On the taking of Algiers, the Arab tribes being released from the yoke of their Ottoman rulers, each took up arms under their respective Marabouts, or Saints, to defend their faith, their independence, and their native soil, against the new invaders of their country, and enemies of their religion. The most enlightened amongst the chiefs soon became aware, that to make any effectual resistance against the common enemy, it would be necessary to appoint a person to the command of the force, which could be united under the sacred banner of the Prophet. The family of Abdel-Kader being the most ancient of Arab descent, several of the different chiefs in the neighbourhood of Mascara proceeded to his father's residence, which is about twelve miles distant to the south-east of that town, and begged that he would once more raise the ancient standard of Arab freedom, which had for such a lapse of years been partially subjected to the Roman and Ottoman powers. This venerable patriarch, then near seventy years old, conceiving that the duties which would devolve upon him, were he to accept the important command thus offered him, would be more than his constitution could support, declined the offer, but, with a patriotism which did honour to his judgment, candidly told the deputation that his advanced stage of life deprived him of that energy which would be requisite to fulfil so important a trust, and that the only one capable of serving the national cause was his third son Abdel-Kader: the two eldest, said the venerable

sire, are not of equal capacity; I have observed and studied their character; in the one I offer you, are alone united the qualities you and the nation require for a leader; he has performed the pilgrimage of Mecca; and to the strictest religious principles, he unites youth, activity, valour and intelligence. The deputation finding that the old man was determined not to become their commander-in-chief, and convinced that in electing his third son he only had in view the welfare of his country, unanimously elected the youthful chieftain to unfurl the banner of the Prophet, and raise the standard of ancient Arabian independence.

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"On the 24th of the month of Safar 1253 (corresponding to the 30th of May 1837 of the Christian era) Abdel-Kader, being thus recognized as Emir—an Arab title which signifies in Arabic religious and lay chief, something more than prince and less than king—shortly afterwards assumed the regal power by the title of Sultan, and as such he was recognized by the whole of the territory from the gates of Oushdah to the river Mejerda. Being freed from foreign war, the Sultan now proceeded to establish every thing in his kingdom upon the European system: he divided it into provinces, each under its respective kalifa or lieutenant-general. The provinces are as follows, viz. that of Tlemecen, of which the celebrated Bouhamidi was appointed Kalifa, capital Tlemecen; 2nd, Mascara, Kalifa Hadgi Mustapha, capital Mascara; 3rd, Meliana, Kalifa Bennallel, capital Meliana; 4th, Algiers, Kalifa Benselm, capital Dellyz; 5th, Constantina,—Bercani was made Kalifa of the district of Constantina, of which Setif was made the capital (for the present), and el Houroubi was given from Setif to the river Mejerda. To these Tegedempt was made into a beyship or kalifat, and the zaara, a desert, to mount Lowat, was included in it. Ben Bekir received this as a reward for the important services he had rendered in the taking of Illmandia or Gojeda, a large town in the desert, from which, in 1838, 200 camel-loads of gold were brought by the Emir.

"The Arab tribes in the neighbourhood of Tennez are commanded by the Arab chief Ben Aratch; each of the seven Kalifas has a regiment of regular infantry under his command, consisting of from 1200 to 1300 men, and to these is added a company of *renegades*, deserters from the French service; some of these companies contain upwards of 200 men; of regular cavalry each Bey has generally from 400 to 500 with him. The boundaries of each province have been laid down as accurately as circumstances will permit, and according to the extent of each a certain number of agas or colonels of militia are appointed; these, on their district being summoned to arms, repair to the appointed rendezvous, each bringing with him provisions for the number of days their services are expected to be required. The Kalifas have the appointing of the Kaidas or Mayors of all the villages, which however are obliged to be confirmed by the Emir. The Governors of the towns are nominated by the Emir himself, and their inauguration to office is made before the Cadi, when they take the customary oaths, and are then invested with the scarlet cloak, the insignia of office."—*Journal of a residence in the Esmailia of Abd-el-Kader*, pp. 127–132.

From the month of April, 1832, the war at Oran assumed a serious character. Abdel-Kader distinguished himself by his courage and coolness in the attacks on that town and familiarized the Arabs with the use of cannon, which until then had produced an immense moral effect upon them. He several times renewed his attacks on Oran, but in spite of the courage of the Arabs these failed, and he contented himself with cutting the city off from all communication with the interior. General Boyer however, who had offended the Governor by the independence he affected, was recalled, and General Desmichels was placed over the administration of the province.

The Duc de Rovigo was obliged to return to France, early in March 1833, by the illness which carried him to the grave. In the interim the command of the army, which consisted of 23,545 men and 1800 horses, devolved upon General Avisard. By the advice of General Trezel, a *bureau Arabe* was established at Algiers, which gave regularity and extension to the intercourse with the tribes.

General Desmichels arrived at Oran, April 23rd, 1833, nearly at the same time that Lieut.-General Voirol, charged with the temporary government of Algeria, landed at Algiers. Although of an inferior rank, General Desmichels, taking advantage of the temporary position of General Voirol, used every exertion to maintain the independence of the command. Hostilities continued with Abdel-Kader, who however changed his plan of operations, and, no longer hazarding a battle, endeavoured to make it a war of partisans. Availing himself of the disorder which reigned at Tlemecen, he took possession of the place and attempted also to seize Mostaganem and Arzew; but General Desmichels prevented this. Notwithstanding the advantages gained by the French General, he was embarrassed in all his movements by the skilful dispositions of Abdel-Kader, who keeping constantly on the defensive, yet ready at any moment to change this into vigorous aggression, harassed the French incessantly, cut off their communication with the interior, and isolated the towns they occupied. General Desmichels at length opened a negotiation with Abdel-Kader, who with much tact availed himself of this circumstance to show the tribes that the French sought peace from him, treating him as a sovereign, and on a footing

of equality. The treaty was signed, February 26, 1834, from which date the power of Abdel-Kader and his authority over the Arabs became incontestable. This was the greatest error the French committed in Algeria; they thus themselves laid the basis of their enemy's power, and aided to consolidate the national spirit of the Arabs.

The administration of General Voirol was marked by mildness and justice, and would have been attended with more fortunate results if accompanied with greater firmness and decision. Notwithstanding the ferment among the Arabs of the Metidja, even the crimes which they committed went unpunished, and, after the severities of the Duc de Rovigo, this lenience excited the Arabs to excesses.

In the course of that year the French government, imagining that they perceived in a remonstrance of the English consul (on an insult offered to the British flag at Boojeya,) a threat of occupying that town, ordered General Voirol to take possession of it. A small expedition left Toulon, and the town was taken October 1, 1833.

In 1834 various offers of submission were made by the Arabs. For the first time an expedition against the tribe of the Hadjoutes was joined by other Arabs, auxiliaries of the French. General Voirol was unfortunately of a weak character, and even in France the government was not wholly decided upon retaining Algeria. From these causes the French neglected to profit by the favourable circumstances presented. The Arabs of the Metidja and of the province of Titteri, however, tired of anarchy, were prepared to accept any rulers who would put a stop to the lawlessness which was ruining them.

The moment when Abdel-Kader was to unite these Arabs in a national bond had not arrived. Like those of every man placed in similar circumstances, his measures excited jealousy; and the chiefs of several tribes, considering him only in the light of an equal, and disregarding the injury they might do to the national cause, raised the standard of revolt. Abdel-Kader was defeated April 12, 1834, and found himself surrounded with enemies, and almost crushed by that very power which he had sought to consolidate. Overtures were made by Moustapha, who had defeated Abdel-Kader, to General

Desmichels, which with a heedless imprudence he repelled; but not content with this, he even supplied Abdel-Kader with arms and powder, encouraged him to assume the offensive, and made a demonstration in his favour. Abdel-Kader marched against the tribe of the Bordja, defeated and then pardoned them; he fell upon Moustapha, whom he completely routed, and finally took Tlemecen; his conduct everywhere was marked by generosity. Encouraged by these successes, he contemplated taking possession of Medeah and Miliana, availing himself of the disposition of the inhabitants of the province of Titteri. General Voirol was dissatisfied with the treaty of General Desmichels, and, foreseeing its consequences, he formally opposed it. Abdel-Kader, obliged to temporize, turned all his attention to the military and administrative organization of the country which he ruled; and his firmness, activity and intelligence commanded the affection, the fear and the obedience of the people.

The question was again agitated in the Chamber of Deputies respecting the continued possession of Algiers, which was resolved in the affirmative. General Count d'Erlon was appointed Governor-general of the French possessions in the north of Africa, and arrived at Algiers, September 2, 1834. The colony was reorganized; a civil intendant, a procureur du roi, a military intendant, a rear-admiral, and a director of finance were appointed. At Algiers, Bona and Oran were established a *tribunal de première instance*, and also a superior tribunal and a tribunal of commerce at Algiers. The administration of the Count d'Erlon was marked with justice and firmness. Abdel-Kader renewed his projects upon Titteri; the Governor-general warned him that he would be attacked if he passed the Chelif; but the arrival of General Desmichels at Algiers, and the activity of the jew Ben-Durand, the agent of Abdel-Kader, soon satisfied the Count d'Erlon, and the treaty concluded at Oran was regarded as very advantageous to France. The name of Abdel-Kader was in the mouth of every one; Europeans went to visit him, and his conversation heightened the admiration in which he was held.

In spite of all the dexterity of Ben-Durand in his negotiations with the Count d'Erlon, he could not conceal from the latter the singular contradictions between the treaty made

public by General Desmichels and that which was held by Abdel-Kader. The Count d'Erlon in consequence recalled General Desmichels, and replaced him by General Trezel, who was distinguished by his justice, probity and firmness. But no sooner was this act of resolution executed, than the Count d'Erlon again fell under the influence of the adroit Ben-Durand, and dispatched very pacific instructions to General Trezel. This saved Abdel-Kader; for a new league was formed against him, and the mal-contents applied for aid to the French. The most dangerous enemy to Abdel-Kader was a chief of the tribe of the Sahara, Hadj-Moussa of the Dark-aoui sect. He had soon collected all the population of the Chelif, the insurrection became general, and even the brother of Abdel-Kader joined it. The energy of the Emir, however, did not relax; and the vigour, resolution and rapidity of his movements supplied the place of numbers. He conquered, and pardoned those whom he defeated, even employed his enemies, and marched against Moussa. At Miliiana he was received with the utmost enthusiasm; he utterly defeated Moussa, and was welcomed at Medeah with the same ardour. He there appointed Khalifa El-Barkani, and Kaids as far as the plain of the Metidja. The Count d'Erlon, continually influenced by Ben-Durand, himself raised again the power of Abdel-Kader in the eyes of the Arabs by his inconsiderate conduct. He was even willing to send artillery to aid him in taking the citadel of Tlemecen, but the energetic representations of General Trezel prevented this. This was the brightest moment of Abdel-Kader's power; having conquered all his enemies, treating with France on a footing of equality, commanding a population which adored him, he everywhere re-established order, justice and security. His genius comprehended all the wants of society; he reformed the administration and the laws, created a standing army, a treasury, manufactories of arms, and even contemplated forming a navy.

General Trezel, foreseeing that affairs tended to a speedy rupture with Abdel-Kader, sought allies for France among the Arab tribes, and especially among the Douers and Zmelas, who under the rule of the Turks furnished a contingent in war. These two tribes, on the 16th of June 1835, signed a

treaty, in which they recognized the sovereignty of France. Abdel-Kader lost no time in attempting to withdraw the tribes from the French authority; he ordered the Douers and Zmelas to quit the territory which they occupied, and to settle on a country which he decreed them, upon pain of compulsion by force of arms. The Arabs demanded the protection of the French, which was granted; and General Trezel, notwithstanding the small force at his disposal, marched to their succour. Hostilities commenced; Abdel-Kader, instructed by experience, did not attack his enemy, but, leaving them to consume their provisions, he awaited their retreat, and then harassed them in pursuit. This retreat ended in the unfortunate battle of the Macta on the 28th of June. The toil of a march conducted under the fire of the enemy, a concurrence of unlucky accidents, and a moment of weakness in the troops, led to almost a defeat. Yet, notwithstanding the moral effect of the moment, which to the Arabs heightened the power of the Emir in the eye of the Arab, the distant consequences were of immense importance to France. To General Trezel is owing the dissipation of the illusion of the French government; until then they regarded Abdel-Kader not as he in fact was,—the creator of a rival power to France,—but her prefect, in whose hands the affairs of the Arabs were concentrated. This absurd mistake was, in fact, prevalent in France. The conduct of General Trezel raised the confidence of the Arabs in his power, gained for the French allies among the tribes, and thus endangered the position of Abdel-Kader. Amongst these Arabs was General Moustapha, an implacable enemy of the Emir, whose influence and example did more injury to his cause than even the French arms.

France could not allow the defeat of the Macta to pass unpunished, and preparations were made for war. The inertness of Count d'Erlon obliged the Government to recall him, the command in the interim being left in the hands of General Rapatel, and he was succeeded by Marshal Clauzel as Governor-general, who arrived at Algiers August 10th, 1835. Some hesitation on the part of the Government suspended for a time the expedition against Abdel-Kader, but it was at length resolved upon, and the Duc d'Orleans went to Africa to join it. Marshal Clauzel, having collected 11,000 men at Oran,

set out from thence on the 26th of November, and marched upon Mascara. After some unimportant engagements, in one of which the Duc d'Orleans was wounded, the army occupied Mascara on the 5th of December. Excepting the Jewish portion of the population, all the inhabitants had quitted the city, chiefly from the compulsion of Abdel-Kader, whose energy seemed to redouble with the peril. Instead of establishing a solid power at Mascara, by leaving there a garrison which might have restrained, and at the same time protected, the surrounding tribes, the French abandoned the town after setting it on fire.

Marshal Clauzel had still preparations to make for his expedition against Tlemecen, whilst Abdel-Kader was already in the field. The latter harrassed the French on the one side, in their very lines, whilst on the other he prevented or dispersed with promptitude the forces assembling against him. At length Marshal Clauzel took the field, January 8th, 1836, at the head of an army of 7,900 men. On the 13th they entered Tlemecen, which, like Mascara, was deserted, its inhabitants having been compelled to abandon the town: the only people left were the Coulouglis and Jews in the mechouar, who had long been besieged by Abdel-Kader. Marshal Clauzel was desirous of establishing communications by sea with Tlemecen, and pushed a *réconnaissance* upon the Tafna, but this project failed. Several tribes, however, believing that the power of Abdel-Kader was on the point of destruction, made advances to the French, which were rejected. One deplorable act of Marshal Clauzel at this time was the contributions levied upon the Coulouglis of the mechouar, the new allies of France. The execution of this measure, more than the act itself, raised the indignation of the whole army, and the tribune of the Chamber of Deputies rung with these atrocities. Marshal Clauzel left a garrison at Tlemecen under the command of Captain Cavaignac. On their return to Oran the French were often attacked: continual engagements took place, the enemy always dispersing before the French, but reforming behind their army, and awaiting them at every difficult pass. At a later period, however, the excursions of General Perrégaux, chief commandant of Oran, his firmness mingled with gentleness, and always guided by justice, gained a daily

increasing success among the Arabs of the province. This influence was neutralized by an unfortunate event. General d'Arlanges, commander of the province of Oran after the departure of General Perrégaux, formed a camp at the mouth of the Tafna; thence he purposed to pass to Tlemecen, but was repulsed, and forced to take refuge within his entrenchments, where the Arabs besieged him.

Marshal Clauzel on his return to Algiers, to instal the Bey of Titteri, whom he had appointed, collected 6,000 men, and after an engagement occupied the Col de Mouzaia. On his return to Algiers, he was summoned to Paris, to render an account of his administration, and embarked for France on the 14th of April.

The intelligence of the unfortunate position of the camp of Tafna surprised the Government, and they sent troops thither under the command of General Bugeaud, who landed on June the 6th; after reorganizing the troops, he led them to Oran, leaving a garrison in the camp. From Oran he made an excursion to re-provision Tlemecen, and returned, having encountered only trifling resistance on his march. On a second excursion to Tlemecen, however, to accompany a convoy, General Bugeaud was attacked by Abdel-Kader on the banks of the Sikack. The combat was decisive; the Arabs, notwithstanding their courage and the example of Abdel-Kader, were defeated, and left nearly 300 prisoners in the hands of the French. This was the severest blow that Abdel-Kader had suffered, but advantage was not taken of it. General Bugeaud returned to France, and the Emir gained time to re-establish his power.

Marshal Clauzel returned to Algiers in August. With a view to efface the reproaches which had been made him, and to restore his influence, the Marshal represented the conquest of Constantine as so easy and necessary that his advice determined the Government to undertake that measure. He acted with good faith in giving this opinion, but he had allowed himself to be duped by the Commandant Jousouf, whom he had appointed Bey of Constantine. Assembling at Bona a force of 9,137 men, he set out from thence on the 8th of November. The opening of the expedition was marked by an awful storm, in which a portion of his provisions was

lost, and the men suffered from the cold and wet. On the 21st the army took up a position before Constantine. Marshal Clauzel had expected that, at the sight of the French, Constantine would open its gates, and he had made his preparations accordingly: the provisions and ammunition were not calculated for a serious resistance, and the bad weather had contributed to diminish them. It was impossible to make a regular attack on the city, and the Marshal attempted to take possession by a *coup de main*. In spite of the valour with which the attack was conducted by General Trezel, who fell mortally wounded, it could not succeed against a city so strong as Constantine; and, food and ammunition now failing, the Marshal resolved upon a retreat. Notwithstanding the dreadful weather and privations of every kind, the ardour of the French was unsubdued; it was nobly sustained by the presence and example of the Duc de Nemours, and the good arrangements of Marshal Clauzel. The Arabs at first seemed determined to follow up their advantages, but the brilliant manner in which they were received by Commandant (now General) Changarnier caused them to break off their pursuit. The retreat however was not the less arduous, and many men, sinking under the fatigue, lay down and waited till the yatagan should put an end to their sufferings. The army at length reached Bona, in an exhausted condition: the killed and wounded amounted only to 500 men, but, with those who died in the hospital from the fatigues of the expedition, the total loss may be estimated at 2000. At the same time the moral effect of the failure of the expedition extended to France, and spread through Europe.

Whilst the expedition to Constantine was in preparation, the incursions and devastations of the Arabs continued at Oran, and especially in the neighbourhood of Algiers. It was in consequence resolved to form a continuous circuit,—a measure which had been suggested by Captain Grand, who afterwards perished bravely at Constantine; but this project was spoiled by its limitation. Marshal Clauzel went to Paris, to justify the failure of his plans, and he did not return again to Africa; General Damrémont was appointed to succeed him, and landed at Algiers, April 3, 1837. On his arrival the new Governor seeing the excited state of the Arabs, and the

progress which the negotiations of Abdel-Kader were making amongst them, took the field.

The Government wished to come to some result with Abdel-Kader, and sent General Bugeaud into the province of Oran, charged with a commission of war, but with a latitude to treat of peace, and he was thus in a manner independent of the Governor-general. Abdel-Kader, with his natural adroitness, did not fail to turn to account this false position of his enemy, by exciting the jealousy of the two Generals and raising a misunderstanding between them. We need not enter further into details; it is sufficient to state that General Bugeaud, after threatening the Arabs with a war of extermination, opened a negotiation with Abdel-Kader through the Jew Ben-Durand; but, in consequence of the protraction of this treaty, the General put himself at the head of an army of 9,000 men, provisioned Tlemecen, and then set out for the camp of Tafna. He had conferences there with the Arabs; the treaty (which we subjoin in a note*) was signed

* THE TREATY OF TAFNA.

1r, L'Emir Abd-el-Kader connoît l'exercice de l'autorité de la domination Française en Afrique.

2ième, La France conserve pour elle, dans l'Outhan du pays d'Oran, Mozaganem, Mazagran avec tout leur territoire, Oran, Arzew avec les limites que nous indiquons ci-après; à l'est la Malka depuis les marais où elle sort; au sud, tirez, à partir du marais susdit, une ligne droite au midi de la Sebka (lac salé), dirigée par Sidi Said jusqu'à l'oued Melah Rio Salada, et descendez avec cet oued jusqu'à la mer, de manière que tout le territoire qui est ci-dessus soit en possession des Français.

Dans l'Outhan du pays d'Alger; Alger avec le Sahel, et la plaine de Metidga du côté de l'est, jusqu'à l'oued Kadra en avant, et du côté du sud jusqu'à la première crête de montagne, en s'étendant vers l'oued Shifa. Dans ces lignes est renfermée Blida et tout son territoire. Du côté de l'ouest depuis la Schifa jusqu'au coude de l'oued Mazafran, et de là, une ligne droite jusqu'à la mer; comprenant dans cette limite Koleia et tout son territoire, de manière que toutes les limites susdites soient en possession des Français.

3ième, L'Emir exerce l'autorité dans l'Outhan du pays d'Oran et de Médéah, dans la partie de la province d'Alger qui n'entre pas dans nos limites, et à l'ouest des limites mentionnées dans la deuxième condition. Il ne peut exercer l'autorité que dans les limites ci-dessus dites.

L'Emir administrera la province d'Oran, celle de Tittery, et la partie de celle d'Alger qui n'est pas comprise à l'ouest dans les limites indiquées dans l'article 2ième.

4ième, L'Emir ne pourra exercer d'autorité sur les Musulmans qui voudront demeurer dans les limites qui appartiennent aux Français, mais ceux qui préféreront aller vivre dans le pays sous la domination de l'Emir (le pourront), de même que ceux qui habitent le pays de l'Emir pourront, sans que rien les en empêche, venir demeurer dans le pays, limites des Français.

5ième, Les Arabes qui habitent dans le pays des Français suivront leur religion en toute liberté. Ils pourront bâtir des mosquées, et suivre les obligations de leur religion, sous la main de leur cadi le grand de l'Islamisme.

May 30th, 1837, and General Bugeaud had an interview with Abdel-Kader two days afterwards. After the treaty was signed, Abdel-Kader, fearing that General Damrémont would be wounded at having being put aside, wrote to him a very remarkable letter.

The west of Algeria being now tranquil, an expedition was prepared against the Bey of Constantine; nevertheless the French wished to escape the necessity of a war by the submission of the Bey, and the negotiations delayed the departure of the army so long as to hazard another failure. At length a force of 10,000 men set out from Bona on the 1st of October, commanded by General Damrémont, accompanied by the Duc de Nemours and Count Valée, General of artillery. The fine weather favoured their march, and on the fifth they arrived before Constantine. The city presented a menacing aspect, the walls were covered with red flags, and everything

6ième, L'Emir donnera à l'armée Française trente mille mesures d'Oran de froment, trente mille mesures d'orge, et cinq mille bœufs. Cette livraison de grains et de bœufs aura lieu à Oran par tiers. Le premier tiers sera livré après trois mois, à partir de la date de cette convention, avec délai de quinze jours, et les deux autres tiers seront livrés deux mois après, c'est à dire, tous les deux mois un tiers.

7ième, L'Emir achètera de France la poudre, le soufre et les armes dont il aura besoin.

8ième, Les Coulouges [inhabitants of Turkish origin] qui voudront rester à Tlemecen, ou dans un autre lieu, jouiront en toute liberté de leurs propriétés, et ils seront traités comme seront traité les Kadars; ceux qui voudront aller dans le pays des Français pourront sans aucun empêchement vendre et affirmer leurs propriétés.

9ième, La France livrera à l'Emir Raschgoun et Tlemecen, avec le Méchouar et les canons antérieurs dans le Méchouar; l'Emir s'oblige à donner aide et faire parvenir à Oran tout le bagage, les vivres, la poudre et les armes des soldats Français qui sont à Tlemecen.

10ième, Le négoce et le commerce se feront en toute liberté entre les Français et les Arabes. Ils pourront aller de limites en limites dans le pays pour négocier et commercer.

11ième, Les Français seront inviolables et respectés chez les Arabes, comme les Arabes chez les Français; les propriétés et les terres que les Français ont achetées, ou achèteront, dans le pays de l'Emir, ils en jouiront en toute liberté et garantie; et l'Emir s'engage à les dédommager complètement toutes les fois que les Arabes causeront du dommage à ces propriétés.

12ième, Les coupables, c'est à dire, les meurtriers, les voleurs de grand chemin, ceux qui brûlent les propriétés, ou les autres, seront rendus des deux côtés.

13ième, L'Emir s'engage à ne livrer aucun port du pays à aucune nation sans le consentement de la France.

14ième, Le négoce et le commerce dans les provinces d'Algier et d'Oran ne se feront que dans les ports qui sont occupés par les Français.

15ième, La France pourra établir un oukil près de l'Emir, et des oukils dans les pays qui sont sous l'autorité de l'Emir, pour être ses médiateurs entre les sujets Français des contestations, ou autres, qui pourront exister avec les Arabes. —Raschgoun, 24 Safar, 1253; Taafna, 30 Maï, 1837.—*Colonel Scott's Journal*, p. 258.

promised a desperate struggle. The roofs were crowded with women, who filled the air with shrill cries, urging on the men to the fight, whilst those without answered by acclamations. Preparations for the siege were immediately commenced with spirit and judgement; but the rain fell in torrents, and threatened again to compel the French to a retreat. The soldiers grew discontented, and the works proceeded slowly. At length the fire of the batteries opened, and a shout of joy burst from the army. A breach was effected, and General Damrémont summoned the city to surrender; the answer he received was a noble one:—"The Arabs know nothing of a breach or a capitulation; we shall defend to the last our city and our houses: the French shall not be masters of Constantine until they have slaughtered the last of its defenders." It now remained only to attempt an assault; but before this took place, the Governor-general unhappily met with his death from a bullet, and General Perrégaux was also mortally wounded. This melancholy event made no change in the operations of the army; General Valée, who by seniority assumed the command, ordered the assault, and, notwithstanding an heroic defence, the city was taken on the 13th of October, 1837. Experience of the anarchy which followed the taking of Algiers taught the French a lesson at Constantine: care was taken to continue the former administration, and to organize a local government. After restoring the breaches, and leaving a considerable garrison at Constantine, Count Valée, who had just been created a Marshal of France and Governor-general of Algeria, returned to Algiers.

During the preparations for the campaign of Constantine, the steps taken by Abdel-Kader tended to withdraw the Arabs from the French dominions. Nevertheless, as he saw that a rupture might result from his measures, he suspended them for a time, awaiting the fall of the Bey Achmet. In this he showed greater foresight than the French Government; he saw that Achmet was a dangerous rival to himself, and that the occupation of the province of Constantine would weaken the French for the moment, by compelling them to maintain there a garrison, while it would strengthen him, by the accession of all those who refused to obey the infidels. The fall of Achmet had scarcely taken place, when Abdel-

Kader returned to his former practices. Probably with a view to temporize, and to see his course more clearly, he sent his khalifa Mouloud-ben-Arach to Paris, in February 1838. This embassy was of advantage to him; it gained time and procured him friends at Paris. There was a complete rage in favour of Abdel-Kader, and in this justice was done to him; nevertheless the alternative could not be overlooked,—it was necessary either to restore Algeria to him, or to maintain its possession against him in the field. Instead of imitating the example of the government of India, and opposing rivals to Abdel-Kader, it was thought most politic to centralize the power in his hands. Abdel-Kader was engaged in repairing the ruins of Tegdempt, and creating there a seat of power more protected from the French; at the same time he was occupied with his projected expedition against Aïn-Madhy. He ordered Mouloud-ben-Arach to sign, on his passage to Algiers the explanatory articles of the treaty of Tafna: this was done July 4th, 1838.

Whilst Abdel-Kader was absent, and engaged in the siege of Aïn-Madhy, the provinces of Oran and Algiers enjoyed tranquillity. Marshal Valée occupied Coleah and Blida and formed several camps, with a view to extend the French dominion. This was an impolitic measure; these camps could not restrain the Arabs, as had been proved, and their maintenance scattered the forces and increased the mortality of the troops. The measures however which the Marshal put in force in the province of Constantine were very successful: he established an Arab administration, on the ancient model, and by the occupation of Stora he opened a communication between Constantine and the sea, which was little more than twenty leagues distant.

In the meanwhile Aïn-Madhy surrendered to Abdel-Kader, January 12th, 1839, and the latter immediately refused to ratify the additional treaty. It became evident that war would soon recommence, and preparations were made accordingly. Marshal Valée extended the Arab administration in the province of Constantine, which was instituted in the name of France, and completed what were called "*les grandes autorités feudataires.*" The Khalifa of the Medjana, El-Mokrani, invested by the Marshal, engaged the troops of

Abdel-Kader with success. The latter sought allies on every side ; in his character as a prince he treated with Morocco,—as a marabout, he visited the tribes, to endeavour to engage them in his cause,—as a statesman, he restored Thaza, in like manner as he had done Tegedempt, and caused the population to flow towards these new cities, particularly that of the tribes whose contact with the French he feared.

The French, it seems, were resolved upon hostilities, but the sickness which had greatly reduced the army rendered it necessary to postpone the campaign until the spring : meanwhile the Prince Royal arrived. Hostilities appeared to be imminent, and the incursions of the Hadjoutes became incessant ; nevertheless the Marshal did not take the warning. At length the Hadjoutes laid an embuscade, which led to the action of Oued-Caleg, in which the French sustained a considerable loss. A few days afterwards the Beys of Medeah and Miliana fell upon the Metidja, carried off some convoys, destroyed some weak detachments, and laid waste, burned and pillaged all the commencements of colonization up to the very gates of Algiers. The Marshal had so scattered his forces, and exposed himself to be surprised, that until the middle of December he could offer no opposition to the enemy. Abdel-Kader in a dispatch had just announced to the Marshal that the holy war against the infidels had commenced. Some troops were at length collected, which repulsed the Arabs, and the alarm of the inhabitants of Algiers began to be allayed. On the 31st of December the French encountered the enemy between Blida and the camp of Chiffa : in the province of Oran the war had also broken out, and thus terminated the year 1839, in the midst of preparations for a death-struggle with Abdel-Kader, whose power had been raised by the rivalry of two generals, and consolidated by the fickleness of the government, but which it was now necessary to destroy, in order to retain possession of Algeria.

The bad weather caused a suspension of hostilities, which recommenced in the end of January, 1840, and the Government, instigated by the public feeling, made great efforts to carry on the war with vigour. The news of this and the presence of the Prince Royal attracted to Africa many foreign officers,—English, Belgians, Americans, Poles and Danes. The

campaign opened well in the province of Oran : on the 2nd of February a body of several thousand Arabs attacked Mazagran ; but the garrison of this small fort, consisting of only 123 men, repulsed with intrepidity every attack during five days, notwithstanding a breach in the walls. As soon as the weather permitted, Marshal Valée took the field and occupied the small town of Cherchel. The inhabitants had quitted their dwellings, and it was evident, from the order in which all was left, that the abandonment had been voluntary and premeditated. The attempts made against the Hadjoutes resulted only in the burning of their gourbis and huts of rush and straw ; the heavy columns of an organized army being comparatively ineffective against these light troops, which fight and disappear unexpectedly and at will. An incident of importance occurred in the month of March. Abdel-Kader, being desirous to raise the province of Constantine, sent thither one of his khalifas ; the Scheik-el-Arab, however, who had been appointed by the French, marched against and completely defeated him. This circumstance ought to have proved to the Government that the only way to govern the Arabs is to oppose one tribe to another, exercising merely an indirect and always a beneficent authority over them.

Before leaving the territory of Algiers, the Marshal, wishing to intimidate the tribes of the East, made an expedition against the Issers. The army, consisting of above 10,000 men, quitted the camp of Blida on the 27th of April ; the Prince Royal commanded the advanced guard, and his brother the Duc d'Aumale accompanied him. They proceeded without news of the enemy, and were surprized suddenly by their appearance. So strong a force however on an open field could not suffer from this circumstance : the orders were given, the troops formed, and marched straight against the enemy, who retired, firing upon their pursuers.

The following day the French army skirted the base of the mountain in the direction of Miliana : the enemy did not appear for many hours, but followed the declivity of the mountains like the French. Soon the majority of the Arabs disappeared, leaving only a thousand men to observe the enemy. In an hour the Arabs appeared in front of the French, who made their dispositions for battle, but the Arabs again

vanished. After a painful march under the burning sun, the French halted; but whilst they were reposing, the Arabs suddenly appeared upon their right flank. They were immediately in motion and marched rapidly against the enemy; but no sooner were they on the point of seizing their prey, than the Arabs vanished like a mist, in long white lines, and showed themselves on the right wing. New dispositions were made to attack the enemy; but the soldiers were fatigued, the line was extended to an excessive length, and the arrival of General Schramm, who arrested a partial charge of cavalry, alone prevented a defeat. The bivouac was established nearly on the same spot as the preceding day; the soldiers were worn out with fatigue and grumbled, whilst the officers loudly blamed their superiors; and yet these movements were not censurable,—the fault was only in their application; for all these tactics were not only useless, but even prejudicial, from the fatigue which they caused to the army against an enemy whom Marshal de Saxe well described as a handful of fleas.

From the accounts received of the difficulty of the passage of the mountains, it was resolved to march to Cherchel for a reinforcement. The Kabales, who occupy the mountains of the Chenouan, promised not to oppose the passage, provided their property was respected, which was granted. But the red horsemen of Abdel-Kader arriving soon after, torch and yatagan in hand, compelled the inhabitants to engage the French. Cherchel meantime was attacked for six days with great impetuosity, and the city was only kept by the good dispositions of Commandant Cavaignac, who inspired his little garrison with a devoted confidence. The army, reinforced with three battalions and provisioned, quitted Cherchel, and advanced toward the Col de Mouzaia. Leaving the convoy at the farm of Mouzaia, which had been fortified, the troops began to climb the mountain, following the former route of Marshal Clauzel. The Arabs had raised three successive breastworks, the fire from which commanded the road; and the ravines, bushes and rocks were covered with Kabales, whose fire is very accurate. The position being inassailable in front, five battalions, commanded by Colonel Changarnier, were ordered to turn these intrenchments on the left. An-

other force of three battalions, with the Zouaves and their Colonel La Moricière, marched on the right, to threaten the defenders with a double fire. The toil of the ascent was increased by the field-pieces which were taken up, and the fire of the Kabails harassed the troops along the whole march. In the rear-guard General Rumigny was wounded, as was also General Marbot in the advanced guard at the side of the Prince Royal. At length they arrived within cannon-shot of the Col, and a fire was opened. The effect at that moment was magnificent; the roar of the cannon was returned by a hundred echoes. On the left the mountains and a thick fog concealed the force commanded by Changarnier, the fire of the musketry alone indicating its direction. On the right the column of La Moricière extended into a ravine; at its approach all the red flags of the Arabs were in motion, and the intrenchments appeared like a line of fire. Along the route, in advance, the column under the orders of the Prince Royal, which was to attack the Col in front, was closed into a mass and sheltered by a rock against the fire of the enemy. At last the red flags disappeared, the charge of the trumpets with the drums of the Zouaves was heard, and the column of the Prince Royal took possession of the Col and the heights around amidst acclamations of "En avant!" The army passed four days at the Col, to fortify it, to have the convoy brought from the farm of Mouzaia, and open a route to Medeah. They at length set out, and after some trifling skirmishes entered that city on the 17th and found it completely deserted. After having put the place in a state of defence and left there a garrison of 2000 men, the army set out for the Col. On their march they were vigorously attacked by the Arabs, and it required great talent, energy and courage to avoid a defeat. In vain the cannon fired grape,—the Arabs crossed singly and at a run the passes upon which the French fire was directed. At length La Moricière appeared with his Zouaves upon an eminence, from whence he could take the Arabs in the rear, and the latter immediately stopped. The army regained the Col, but they had lost in killed and wounded nearly 300 men. In this battle the advantage was undoubtedly on the side of the Arabs, whose measures were better taken than those of

the French. Two days later the army entered Algiers; the Prince Royal quitted Africa, and the Marshal prepared to take the field again.

On the 5th of June the army, after a short repose, and re-organized, quitted Blida, 10,000 men strong, and advanced toward the farm of Mouzaia. After some skirmishes they traversed the pass of Shabel-Ghotta, crossed the mountains by the Col de Gontas, and came in sight of Miliana on the 8th. The inhabitants were flying from the city, pressed on by the cavalry of Abdel-Kader, and clouds of smoke were rising from the town. After a short engagement with the Arabs, the army entered Miliana, which was deserted and in part consumed. On the gates of the city were placards signed by the principal inhabitants, with these words:—"The burning city will receive you; this is the hospitality which for ten years you have merited: the flames are the hospitality we offer you, and by the aid of God we hope to do better still!" No sooner had the troops quitted the city, on the 12th of June, after having put it in a state of defence, than the rear-guard was fired upon by the enemy, who with their usual activity were always ready to take advantage of the movements of the French. As soon as a position was abandoned, they occupied it; wherever a rock, bush, or ravine offered them shelter, they opened their fire from its cover. They usually accompanied the French up to the bivouac, and during the night roved around the camp, to carry off any who might imprudently have passed the lines. In order to intimidate the enemy, the French set fire to the cornfields they passed, and destroyed the few habitations which they met with. After crossing the Chelif and encountering a difficult descent, the troops bivouacked in the Wood of Olives. To spare them the danger of forcing the Col of Mouzaia, which it was deemed necessary to occupy, a column commanded by General Changarnier ascended the mountain at 11 o'clock at night: the army exhibited the greatest courage and promptitude. By this march they got the start of the enemy, and the Col was occupied without a blow. Early the next morning the army began to ascend the south side of the Atlas, every arrangement having been made against attack on their return. The Arabs

waited till the French had entered the long circuitous routes of the ascent; and at the moment when the rear-guard were about to quit the Wood of Olives they fell on with impetuosity. The action soon spread over all the hills and ravines: the firing increased, and the fight became hot; and whilst the regular troops engaged the rear-guard in single and obstinate combats at the point of the bayonet, the red horsemen dismounting came running at full speed, in spite of the fire of the artillery, to reach the convoy. This was the moment for the reserves; but the Marshal, considering the large consumption of ammunition and the exhaustion of the soldiers, did not take this step. The fight had been very murderous, and many officers were killed and wounded: in short 350 men were disabled. The army took up its position on the Col, to have time to convey the sick and wounded to Blida, and to fetch the convoy for the provisioning of Medeah. Five days were passed at the Col, which was a perfect charnel-house: the dead bodies that had been buried and dug up again by the Arabs, the half-devoured carcasses of beasts of burden, the cattle which had been killed, added to the closeness of the cantonment,—all infected the air, whilst the want of water and food under a burning sun completed the misery of those days. All being ready, the descent of the mountain re-commenced: the first sight which met the view of the soldiers was the mutilated bodies of their comrades who had perished. In the clefts of the trees they found the proclamations which the Marshal had spread among the tribes, on the backs of which were such inscriptions as the following:—"You have called yourself master of this land, and you have not sufficient of it to bury your soldiers, whom the earth repels with horror from its bosom. You menace us with devastation; learn that our country is vast, our horses are swift, and they will carry us afar off; but we will never submit! You threaten us with a war of ten, of fifteen years; our answer is that we will wage that war, and that our children and our children's children will fight after us, but that we will not submit!" Such is the energetic language of the Arabs,—worthy of a people that knows the value of freedom and is prepared to die in its defence.

The Marshal, being established at Medeah, sent a force of

4000 to 5000 men, commanded by Colonel Changarnier, with the necessary store of provisions to Miliana. They were followed by Abdel-Kader at the head of above 5000 horsemen from the west and the Sahara, but he dared not attack the French openly. On the return of the detachment the Marshal quitted Medeah, rejoined it at the foot of the Nador, and marched to the Col, fortunately without molestation. After provisioning Medeah the army quitted the Col, and at Blida encountered the Kabails: several men were killed, and some made prisoners. The generosity of the French soldiers merits notice: coming from a struggle in which no quarter was given, heated by the ardour of war and worn with toil, they might be seen carrying the children of the female Arab prisoners.

The hot weather now terminated the campaign; and after a reconnoissance to open a more direct communication with Medeah, a post was established in the mountains at Ain-Tele-sid, and the army moved back to its cantonments. On his return to Algiers Marshal Valée turned his attention to the autumn campaign. He was well aware that the first object was to destroy the power of Abdel-Kader, and that this could only be accomplished by persevering efforts. The Arabs showed that they were not beaten, and that by the nature of their warfare they were always ready at a favourable moment to take their revenge: they would spread alarms at the very gates of the city, commit murders and fire the storehouses in the environs.

Early in autumn the campaign was opened by the provisioning of Medeah, which had been attacked with much obstinacy. On the 1st of October a force, charged with a large convoy, set out for Miliana, and another was dispatched to Medeah; these were followed by two other convoys in November. At Miliana the garrison had suffered dreadfully, and was decimated by sickness. Either from fatigue or discouragement, the Arabs exhibited little energy during the autumnal campaign, and Marshal Valée had reason to flatter himself that, by perseveringly following the plan he had traced, and fortifying the towns in the interior strongly enough for their own defence and the command of their environs, he might succeed in his object of subduing Abdel-

Kader. But what was the astonishment of the whole colony when the Marshal, after having gained the general affection, was recalled. General Bugeaud was appointed to succeed him. Although a good soldier and esteemed by the army, it will be recollected that he it was who negotiated the treaty of Tafna, and who had declared from the *tribune* that he saw no success in prospect for Algeria. General Bugeaud did not however go to Algiers immediately, and in the interim the government was carried on by General Schramm, who took a warm interest in the welfare of the colony; one step he took was to give to the soldiers the land around their camps to cultivate, thus pointing out the only means which can develop colonization in Algeria,—the establishment of military colonies.

The public opinion was so opposed to General Bugeaud that, in the address delivered to him on his arrival at Algiers, February 22, 1841, the distrust he inspired was not concealed. The recall of Marshal Valée being a censure upon his administration, General Bugeaud announced that he should follow another course. Happily he did not keep his word; for, adopting the plan of his predecessor, he prepared to prosecute the war with vigour, with a view to destroy Abdel-Kader, as the only means of rendering the conquest of Algiers profitable to France.

As our space does not allow of our detailing all the events which took place in 1841, we shall briefly sketch the most important. In the opening of this year the effective force of the army, although fixed by the budget at 38,000 men and 9,957 horses, amounted to 69,372 men and 13,044 horses. The French at that time occupied the following places in the first division of Algeria (the province of Algiers and Titteri):—Algiers, Douera, Bouffarik, Maelma, Coleah, Blida, Foudouk, Ain-Telezid, Medeah, Miliana, Cherchel. The second division (province of Oran) included Oran, Mersel-Kebir, Messerghin, Arzew, Mostaganem, Mazagran, Harschgoun. The third division (province of Constantine) included Constantine, Milnah, Djemilah, Setif, Smendoun, L'Arouche, Philippeville, Stora, Djigelli, Boojeja, Bona, Drean, Nechmeia, Mjez-Hammar, Guelma, La Calle.

By a royal ordonnance the administration of justice was

organized anew in February; tribunals *de première instance* were established at Algiers, Bona and Oran, and also a *Cour Royale* at Algiers. In April, General Bugeaud made an expedition to provision Medeah and Miliana, and had several skirmishes with the Arabs. In May he accompanied an expeditionary force again to Mostaganem and Tegendempt, which last place they found abandoned and in flames: he completed its destruction. He then occupied Mascara, which was also deserted, and left there a strong garrison. On June the 3rd the army returned to Mostaganem, after a sharp action. Meanwhile General Barraguay d'Hilliers, at the head of the Division of Algiers, quitted Blida. He left a convoy at Medeah, destroyed the fort of Borar (fifteen leagues distant), which he found on fire, and two days afterwards he in like manner destroyed Thaza (twelve leagues south of Miliana), which was also deserted and in flames: after provisioning that city the army returned to Blida, having scarcely fired a shot.

The campaign of this spring was pushed with vigour: without regarding the movements of the enemy, the French pursued their object in a straight course, establishing at distant points garrisons sufficiently strong to intimidate the Arabs, and even to attempt expeditions. General Bugeaud spread proclamations among the Arabs, which produced only the effect of calling forth dignified and courageous replies from Abdel-Kader. A large portion, however, of the powerful tribe of the Medjehers joined the French, and General Bugeaud appointed one of their chiefs Bey of Mascara.

The autumn campaign opened with the re-provisioning some places. In October the Arabs made a vigorous but ineffectual attack on Mascara. Meanwhile at Oran, notwithstanding the apparent security of the native allies of the French, the Arabs surprized them and carried off women, children and cattle, almost under the walls of the city. General Bugeaud arrived at Oran, and on the 13th of October started again upon an expedition which lasted above seven weeks: he then returned to Mostaganem. This campaign, which was the longest that had been undertaken, greatly weakened Abdel-Kader, but more by harassing the Arabs, who began to be tired of the war, than open fighting. The fort of Saida, nine leagues south of Mascara, abandoned like the

others, was destroyed; but a circumstance of much greater importance was the accession of the tribes of the Yakoubia to the French, with whom they conjointly attacked Abdel-Kader. The head-quarters were established at Mascara, and the garrison raised to 6000 men. In December the tribe of the Tafna surrendered to the French, and the power of Abdel-Kader appeared to be sinking on every side.

Whatever may be the ultimate destiny of this man, his name will live in history, and posterity will render honour to his patriotism, his heroic valour and military skill: by his influence, activity and tactics, he aroused a spirit of nationality among the scattered tribes, enlisted them in a common cause, and consolidated the remains of a power which had been broken for ages: his genius supplied the resources which civilization confers upon great nations, and, with a population weak, divided and often hostile, Abdel-Kader succeeded in commanding the general obedience and attachment, in subduing rivalry and, during twelve years, disputing the power of France in Algeria.

We shall conclude this article with some statistical details, derived from authentic sources. The European population of Algeria was as follows from 1832 to 1842:—

			English.
In 1830 . . .	602 . . .	—	
„ 1831 . . .	3,328 . . .	—	
„ 1832 . . .	4,858 . . .	—	
„ 1833 . . .	7,812 of whom	1213	
„ 1834 . . .	9,750 . . .	1431	
„ 1835 . . .	11,221 . . .	1507	
„ 1836 . . .	14,561 . . .	1802	
„ 1837 . . .	16,770 . . .	2193	
„ 1838 . . .	20,078 . . .	2374	
„ 1839 . . .	23,023 . . .	2670	
„ 1841 . . .	27,865 . . .	3395	
„ 1842 . . .	35,727 . . .	4576	

The total population of those parts of Algeria in which it had been ascertained, amounted to 59,336, distributed as follows:—Algiers, 38,097.—Oran, 8562.—Bona, 6469.—Philippeville, 3411.—Boojeya, 494.—Mostaganem, 2112.—Cherchel, 191.

The commerce of Algeria was as follows :—

	Imports.	Exports.
	Francs.	Francs.
In 1831 . . .	6,504,000 . . .	1,479,600
„ 1832 . . .	6,856,920 . . .	850,659
„ 1833 . . .	7,599,158 . . .	1,028,410
„ 1834 . . .	8,560,236 . . .	2,376,662
„ 1835 . . .	16,778,737 . . .	2,597,866
„ 1836 . . .	22,402,758 . . .	3,435,821
„ 1837 . . .	33,055,246 . . .	2,946,691
„ 1838 . . .	33,542,411 . . .	4,200,553
„ 1839 . . .	36,877,558 . . .	5,281,372
„ 1840 . . .	57,334,737 . . .	3,788,834

The transport of this merchandize, in 1839, employed 3472 vessels, of 185,973 tons burden and carrying 23,862 sailors: of these, 142 vessels, of 23,524 tons and 1398 sailors, were English. The value of the English imports amounted to 4,064,184 francs.

In 1840, 4891 vessels were employed, of 362,795 tons burden, with 36,841 sailors; of these, 197 vessels were English, of 31,699 tons and 2000 sailors. The value of the English imports amounted to 6,236,605 francs. The coral fishery in 1838 employed 245 vessels, of 3123 tons burden, and yielded 1,983,000 francs; but in 1840 this fishery produced only 666,450 francs.

The effective force of the French army in Algeria was augmented as follows :—

	No. of men.	Deaths.
In 1831 . . .	17,939 . . .	1018
„ 1832 . . .	22,431 . . .	2013
„ 1833 . . .	27,762 . . .	2536
„ 1834 . . .	31,863 . . .	2020
„ 1835 . . .	30,885 . . .	2380
„ 1836 . . .	21,450 . . .	2161
„ 1837 . . .	42,067 . . .	4552
„ 1838 . . .	45,832 . . .	2435
„ 1839 . . .	47,642 . . .	3633
„ 1840 . . .	69,372 . . .	9567
„ 1841 { . . .	{ 80,000 French	
{ . . .	{ 6,000 Natives	

The following were the Government disbursements and receipts from 1830 to 1840.

	Expenses.	Receipts.
In 1831 . . .	18,285,424 . . .	1,048,479
„ 1832 . . .	23,155,447 . . .	1,569,108
„ 1833 . . .	25,568,196 . . .	2,237,154
„ 1834 . . .	26,968,471 . . .	2,542,660
„ 1835 . . .	26,462,026 . . .	2,518,521
„ 1836 . . .	29,154,161 . . .	2,865,384
„ 1837 . . .	42,850,637 . . .	3,705,852
„ 1838 . . .	42,325,381 . . .	4,178,861
„ 1839 . . .	44,786,748 . . .	4,469,870
„ 1840 . . .	65,809,613 . . .	5,610,710

In the foregoing pages we have briefly sketched the progress of events in Algeria, from the time when the French first took possession of that country until the close of the year 1841. To have brought down our history to the present time would have exceeded the limits of a single article, and it was our intention therefore to have concluded the subject in a future number of this Review. Circumstances prevent our fulfilling this intention; but we nevertheless present these pages to our readers, which we believe contain a faithful and succinct account of the early portion of the history of this colony*.

It will have been seen that a great part of the obstacles which the French Government had to encounter in establishing themselves in Algeria arose from their own indecisive measures, their immatured plans of action, and their erroneous views of the aim and means of colonization. In the course of ten years no less than ten successive Governors were placed over the colony,—besides three other Generals who held the command *ad interim*. Such continual changes are dangerous in any new settlement, but they are fatal in a young colony like Algeria, surrounded by enemies, who are ever on the alert to take advantage of any weakness in the councils as well as in the operations of the colonists. Whilst the French were thus manifesting an indecision of purpose and action,—at one

* Since the present article was written, a work has been announced, entitled “Algeria, Past and Present,” to which we have only room to refer our readers generally, as containing much interesting information relative to that country.

while treating with the Arabs and courting pacific arrangements, at another pursuing a wholly opposite course of action,—appointing a Governor, and in a few months superseding their appointment, with apparently equal absence of consideration and prudence,—Abdel-Kader took advantage of those weapons which his enemies themselves put into his hands, and, with a far inferior power at his command, baffled for years the tactics, skill and armies of the French Government. The prosperity, as well as the security, of Algeria rests materially upon the stability of its Governor, and upon the adoption of a successful and profitable scheme of colonization. So long as the attention of the Government is necessarily centred upon the military tenure of the colony and measures of aggression and warfare, the possession can prove only the gain of a loss—of a loss serious and progressively increasing. The Governor of Algeria ought to be appointed for a certain number of years, and his recall should be the consequence only of a special inquiry for urgent state reasons. This permanent tenure of office would render necessary the greater circumspection in the choice of an officer. He ought moreover, before being appointed, thoroughly to understand the history and position of the colony, and the nature of his duties,—to be ready to identify himself with its prospects and success,—and to be a man of a high position in society, who would devote the advantages which rank and talents give him to the service of those over whom he is placed. The colony would thenceforward become his country; and not regarding it as a land of exile, or his life as one of ungrateful sacrifice, he would view his position and his duties as high and honourable, as investing him with the means of raising a new people and developing the germs of prosperity, civilization and power.

There is another source of prosperity which is of peculiar importance to Algeria,—colonization. As long as the French settlements are limited to fortified towns or the sea-coast, there can be small hopes to France from such possessions. Like the Turks, they encamp, but they do not take root in the soil; and whilst this is the case, there is no security of tenure but what the armies sent from France may afford; there are no internal elements of self-defence, and consequently no sound principle of colonization. There is, as we

have said, but one means of accomplishing this object,—to colonize, and thus to create a population whose interests in the soil will enlist them in the defence of its possession. There is a choice of various measures of colonization, but that choice should be regulated by the nature of the country and all the circumstances of time and place: these are the conditions of success in this national experiment. It may be well to consider the advantages of the military colonies established, with such systematic prudence, by the Carthaginians and Romans in this very country; in which the occupation of the land extended gradually from a centre, and was secured by strong military outposts and enclosures. But this question we must leave, and shall here conclude our article, summing up our remarks with one observation, that, so long as the possession of Algeria is secured only by the presence of a large standing-army, it may remain in the *occupation* of the French, but it can never become, in the proper sense of the term, a profitable colony to France.

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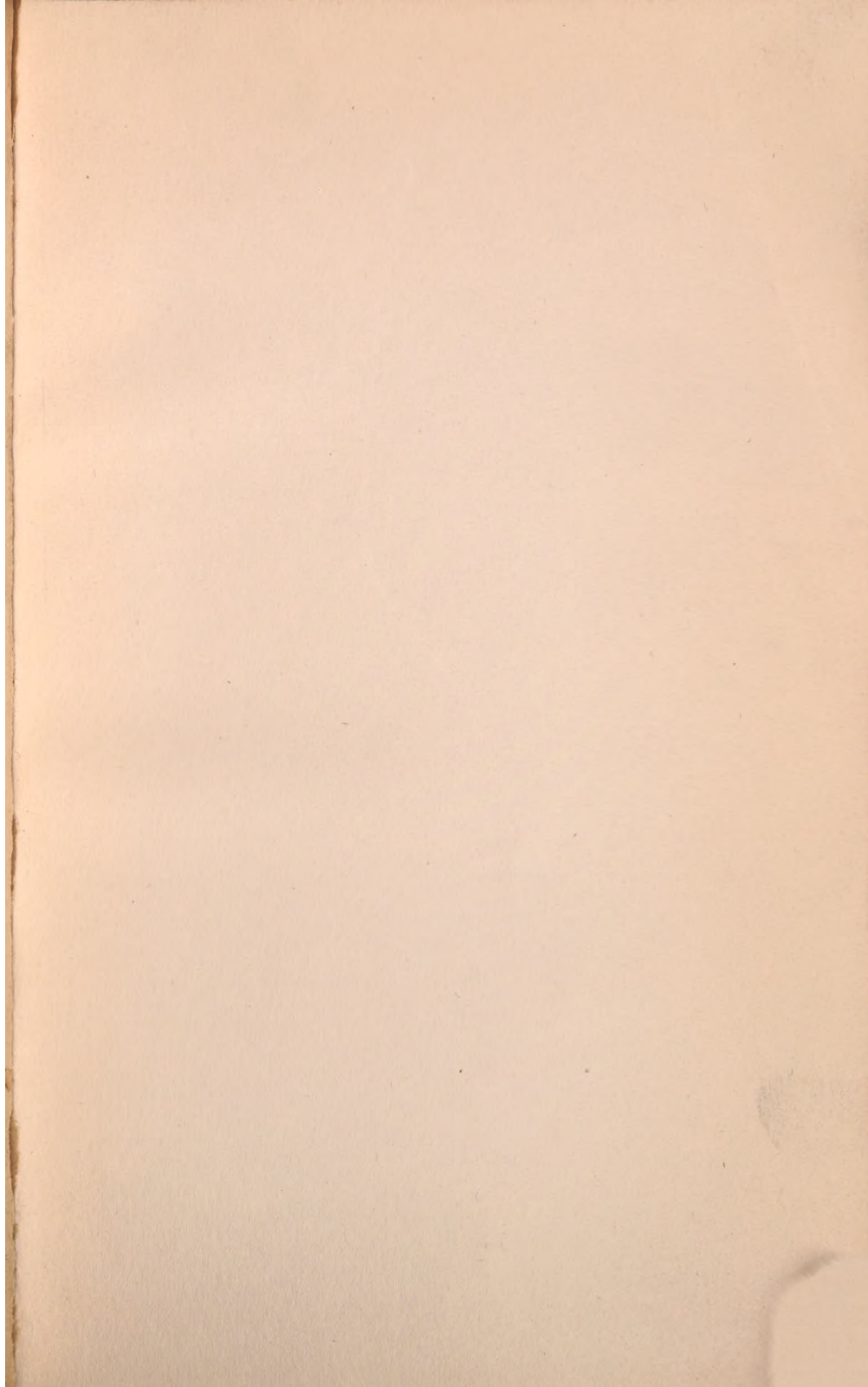
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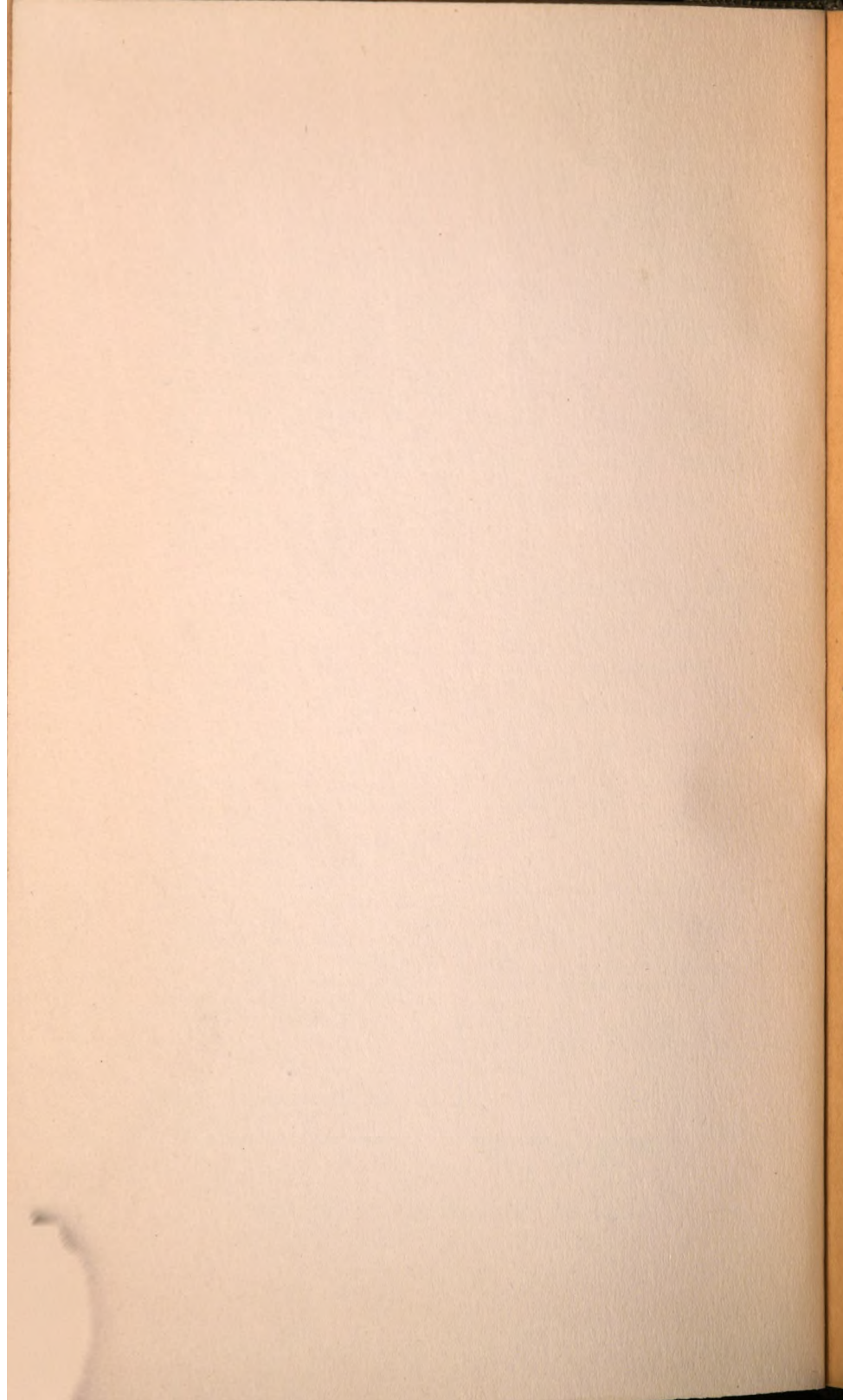
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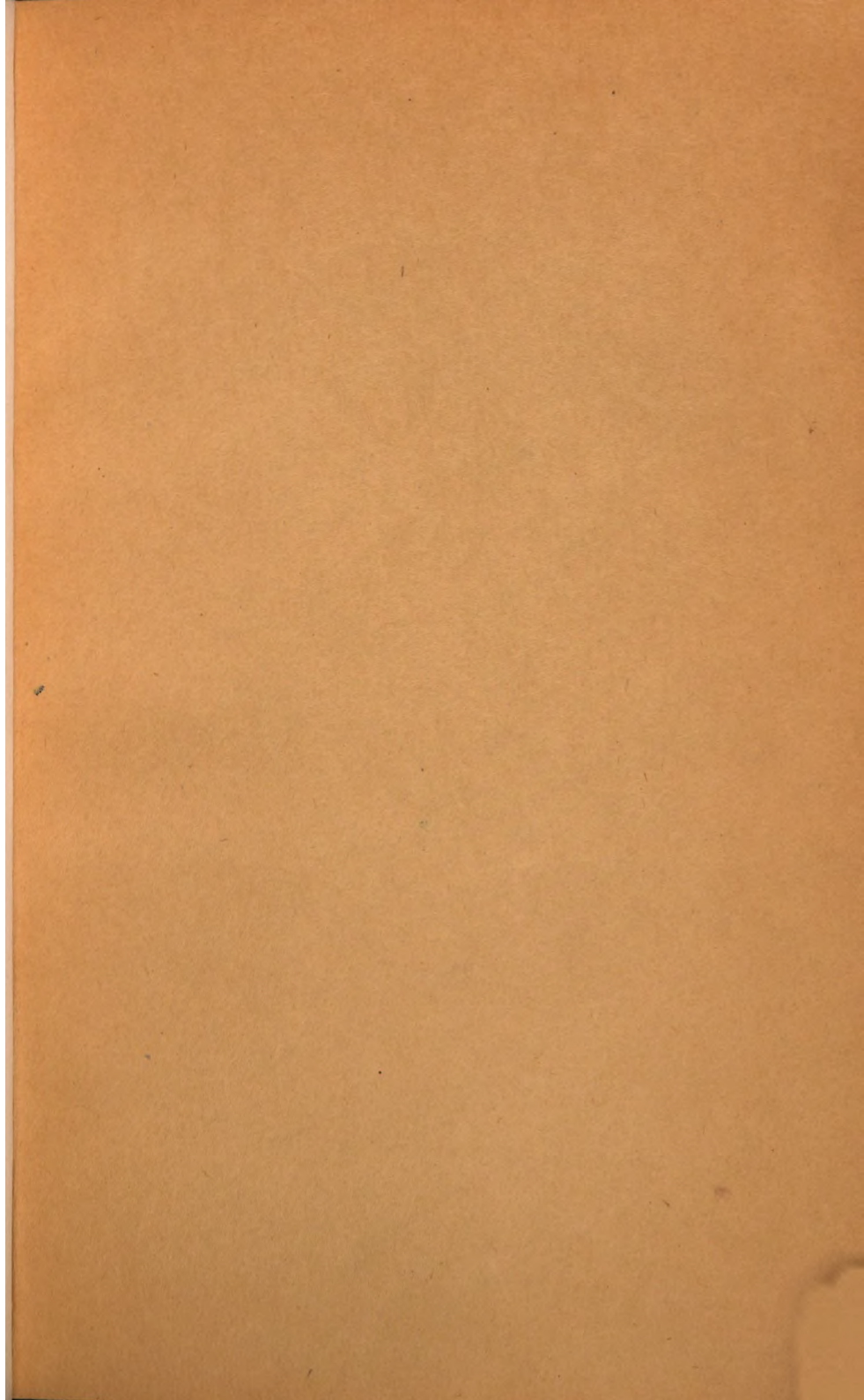
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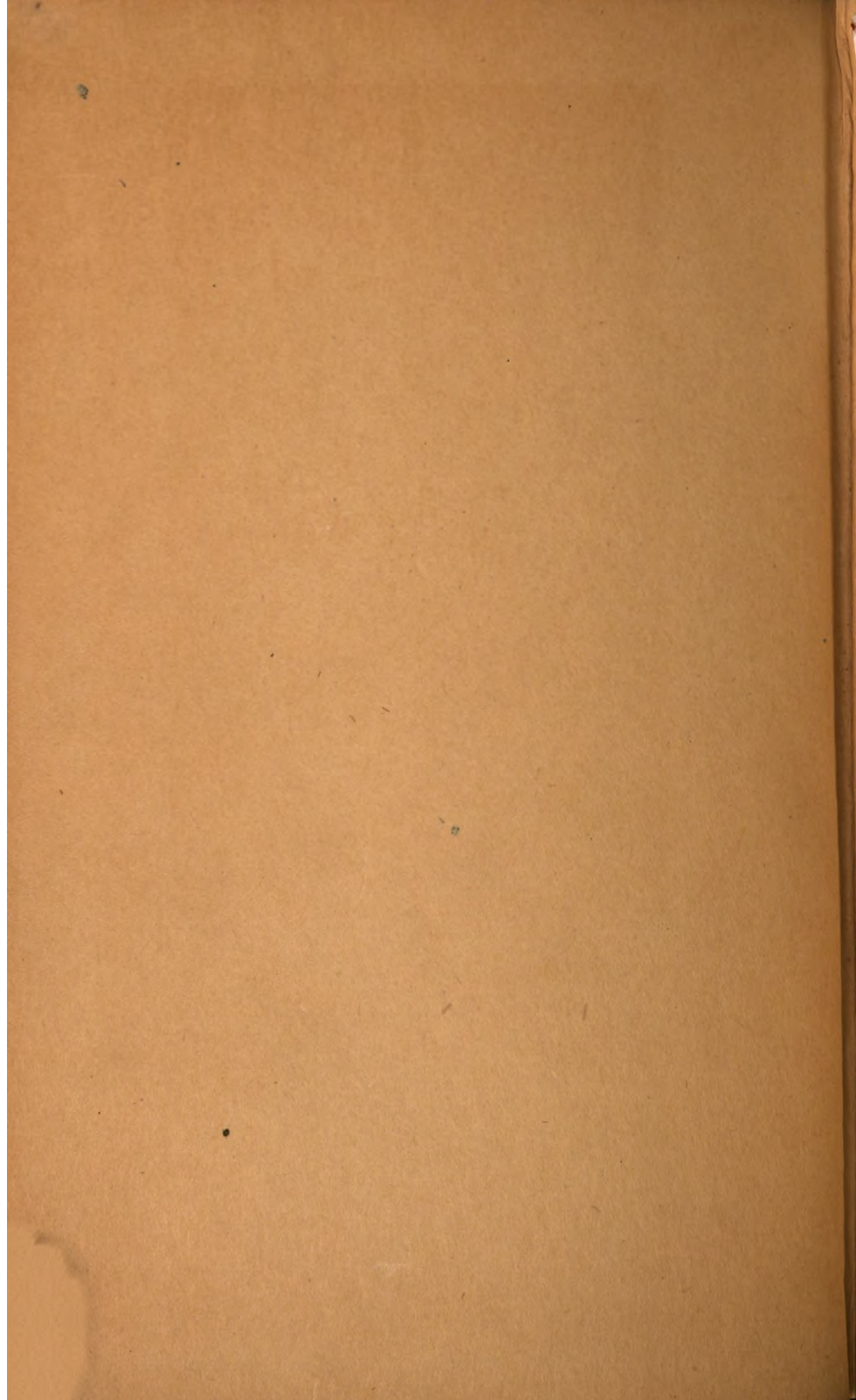
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